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ABSTRACT

The six papers collected in this report were originally presented at a conference on Asian and Pacific education held in 1984. The papers deal with such topics as: the relationship between educational attainment and economic status; training programs designed for teachers and staff working with limited English speaking Asian students; effective mathematics curriculum and instruction for immigrant students; innovative strategies for second language learning; traditional pedagogical philosophy prejudicial to minority education; and teaching and reading Asian American literature not as nonfictional data but as literature. Paper titles (and their authors) are: (1) "The Educational Status of Asian Americans: An Update from the 1980 Census" (Stephen H. Kan and William T. Liu); (2) "Assessment of Limited English Proficient Children with Special Needs" (Vicki Siegel and Linda Halog); (3) "Johnny Can Add, But What Else?" (Sau-Lim Tsang); (4) "English Standard Schools: A Policy Analysis: (Amy Agbayani and David Takeuchi); (5) "Adult Learning Experience Journals: An Aid to Successful Teaching of a Second Language" (Teresita V. Ramos); and (6) "First Generations in Asian American Literature: As Viewed in Some Second Generation Works" (Stephen H. Sumida). (KH)

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ISSUES IN ASIAN AND PACIFIC AMERICAN EDUCATION

NOBUYA TSUCHIDA, EDITOR

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ASIAN AND PACIFIC AMERICAN EDUCATION

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ISSUES IN ASIAN AND PACIFIC AMERICAN EDUCATION

Nobuya Tsuchida, Editor

National Association for Asian and Pacific American Education

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Stephen H. Sumida
Washington State University, Pullman

PREFACE

The National Association for Asian and Pacific American Education held its Sixth Annual Conference in New Orleans, May 2-5, 1984. Many fine papers and workshops were presented under the theme of "Global/International Education: The Asian and Pacific American Perspective." The conference organizers initially had an ambitious plan to publish the entire proceedings. Due to fiscal and staffing constraints, however, the original plan was drastically scaled down to an anthology consisting of six representative articles contained herein.

Selected on the basis of quality and thematic relevance, these papers examine a number of important contemporary issues in Asian and Pacific American education. Specifically, the anthology deals with such topics as: (1) relationship between educational attainment and economic status; (2) training programs designed for teachers and staff working with Asian LEP (Limited English Proficient) students; (3) effective mathematics curriculum and instruction for immigrant students; (4) innovative strategies for second language learning; (5) traditional pedagogical philosophy prejudicial to minority education; and (6) teaching and reading Asian American literature not as nonfictional data but as literature. Far from comprehensively covering all the critical issues challenging Asian and Pacific American students and educators, the book has merely scratched the surface. I sincerely hope that this modest volume will contribute to stimulate further interest in research and publication in the field of Asian and Pacific American education.

I would like to thank Bea Van Liew for wordprocessing the manuscripts and making many valuable suggestions. My heartfelt thanks go to Barbara Stedje, Jean Tyan and Susan Song, who carefully and tirelessly proofread the papers at various stages. Without these people's dedicated assistance, this anthology would not have been possible.

April 1986

Nobuya Tsuchida
Minneapolis

THE EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF ASIAN AMERICANS: AN UPDATE FROM THE 1980 CENSUS

Stephen H. Kan and William T. Liu

This paper has two objectives. The first is to assess the overall educational status of major Asian American groups in comparison with the majority White population and the two largest minority groups, namely, the Blacks and the Hispanics. Because of their high achievements in socioeconomic status, Asian Americans in recent years have been labeled as a "model minority." The media has widely publicized the particularly high educational attainment of several Asian American groups. While reports by the media are based on current information, they may not be systematic nor comprehensive, especially in view of the fact that under the general rubric of "Asian Americans," great variability exists among individual groups. On the other hand, studies by scientific investigators, while more systematic and rigorous, are mostly based on earlier census data and the 1976 Survey of Income and Education data (e.g., Hirschman and Wong, 1981; Nishi, 1981). With the 1980 census data available, it is necessary to update our knowledge of the Asian Americans' educational profile, to identify changes since 1970, and to assess where this minority group stands in the national context.

Our second objective is to assess the economic milieu of Asian American families with school-age children, i.e., children between the ages 6 and 17. We wish to find out how many such families can adequately provide sufficient resources to educate their children without creating undue hardship for the parents. In other words, we postulate that when resources are scarce, one has to make a difficult choice between using the limited funds to take care of the bare necessities and investing the money in children's education. When a family has surplus funds, such funds are available for educational investment but may not be used in such a way. The differential use of surplus funds by individual families depends on the parents' views of the societal demands on their children's skills when the latter reach the adult working age. Different racial and ethnic groups may have different views on the probable societal demands on their children's educational requirement partly because of their own personal experiences, and partly because of their values and perceived symbols of success. The allocation of surplus funds by parents usually reflects such values and differential perceptions.

Thus it is too complex a problem to assess the educational values of parents without a sample survey data. The 1980 census, however, does allow the analysis of families at the level, or below the margin, of poverty by ethnicity and place of birth. For the foreign-born, there is information on the year of immigration. For the purpose of analyzing the economic ability of parents relative to educational requirements, we assume that when a family falls below the poverty line, there is that added tension in using the limited resources for the children's education at the expense of personal comforts and future economic security. If, at the same time, in spite of the limited resources, children of a particular ethnic origin achieved highly, the poverty cycle hypothesis which has been used by many to describe the ills of minority children must be revised in light of the Asian American experience.

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Data and Analysis

Data for this analysis came from the 1970 census reports and the 1980 Census Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS). For the six major Asian American groups, the 5 percent A Sample was used, whereas for the three non-Asian groups, the one-in-one thousand (1/1,000) B Sample was used. For the 1980 data, it is able to identify the Hispanic population based on a question about Spanish origin. The terms White and Black here thus refer to non-Spanish origin people. However, for the 1970 data, the racial group "White" is comprised of non-Spanish origin people as well as Spanish origin people. Since Hispanics constitute only a small percentage relative to Whites, the confounding effect should be negligible.

Table 1 gives a general profile of years of education completed by population 25 years old and over by race and ethnicity for both 1970 and 1980. For Asian Americans in 1970, only data on the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Filipinos are available, in contrast with those on the White majority. All three Asian American groups exceeded the White population with respect to the percentage of persons completing college education. At the other end of the educational spectrum, the Chinese and the Filipinos also had a conspicuously high percentage of population with no education or with minimum education (1-4 years). The bimodality of educational attainment is intuitively obvious, especially among the Chinese.

For 1980, with data available on Koreans, Asian Indians, and Vietnamese, we note that all Asian groups except the Vietnamese exceed the Whites, the Blacks and the Hispanics in the proportion of population with a college education. The Asian Indians have the highest percentage of college graduates (more than one out of every two), followed by the Chinese (37.0 percent), the Filipinos (36.9 percent), the Koreans (33.9 percent) and the Japanese (26.3 percent). Although the Vietnamese have a lower percentage than the White population (12.5 percent as compared to 17.4 percent), they compare favorably with the Blacks and the Hispanics. Available data indicate that the Whites and the three Asian groups all experienced a large increase over the 1970 figures in the percentage of people with four or more years of college education. The Filipinos had the largest increase in terms of both the absolute percentage point increase (14.5) and percent increase (64 percent). In view of these statistics, we are persuaded to conclude that Asian Americans indeed have the highest level of educational attainment (Table 1).

Although the percentage with no formal education or with minimum education for the Chinese and the Filipinos saw a moderate decline between 1970 and 1980, the bimodality of distribution of education level is still manifest as compared with the Whites and even the Black population. The Vietnamese and the Koreans also have sizable proportions of population with no education. When all the racial and ethnic groups are considered, the Hispanics have the highest proportion with no education or minimum education (4.6 + 10.5 = 15.1 percent).

The drastic increase in Asian Americans' educational attainment between the 1970 and the 1980 censuses is attributable not only to the higher achievement of the groups within a single decade, but also to the highly selective immigration of well educated professionals. Adult Asian immigrants may benefit from the American educational system by getting more advanced education, but most of them have a high level of education to start with (Table 2). This is especially true for the post-1965 immigrants. However, the exact impact of immigration on the increase in educational attainment is difficult to assess and was not attempted in this analysis. In contrast with the Asian Americans, the continued influx of Hispanic immigrants tends to lower the overall educational level of the Spanish-speaking population (Jaffe et al., 1980). For the Whites and the Blacks, who have low levels of immigration, the increase in the education level between

Table 1

Years of School Completed by Population 25 Years Old and Over, by Race, 1970 and 1980

Race	Number*	Total %	Years of School Completed							
				Grade School			High School		College	
			None	1-4	5-7	8	1-3	4	1-3	4+
1970										
White	98,245,635	100.0	1.4	3.1	9.1	13.0	18.8	32.2	11.1	11.3
Chinese	227,165	100.0	11.1	5.1	10.7	5.6	9.7	21.2	11.0	25.6
Japanese	353,707	100.0	1.8	2.4	6.3	9.5	12.2	39.3	13.6	15.9
Filipino	176,672	100.0	5.6	9.5	11.7	5.1	13.4	19.9	12.4	22.5
1980										
White	109,999	100.0	0.6	1.5	5.4	8.2	14.6	36.2	16.1	17.4
Black	13,013	100.0	1.8	5.8	12.2	7.5	21.7	29.1	13.5	8.3
Hispanic	6,549	100.0	4.6	10.5	16.8	7.9	17.2	24.0	11.4	7.6
Chinese	24,566	100.0	7.1	3.6	7.9	3.0	7.5	19.3	14.6	37.0
Japanese	23,735	100.0	1.1	1.2	3.4	4.5	7.9	35.7	20.0	26.3
Filipino	22,608	100.0	2.1	5.2	7.8	2.4	8.5	18.4	18.9	36.9
Korean	9,280	100.0	3.0	1.1	6.4	3.3	8.1	28.6	15.8	33.9
Asian Indian	12,024	100.0	1.7	1.6	4.2	4.2	8.7	14.5	13.6	51.5
Vietnamese	5,159	100.0	5.6	4.8	10.5	4.2	12.7	29.0	20.7	12.5

*Data for 1970 are based on the entire population, whereas data for 1980 are based on samples (5% sample for Asian Americans; one-in-one thousand B sample for other groups).

Table 2

Percentage of Population 25 Years Old and Over with 4+ Years of College Education, by Race and Nativity/Year of Immigration

Nativity/ Year of Immigration	White	Black	Hispanic	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino	Asian Indian	Vietnamese
Born in the U.S.	17.5	8.6	7.2	41.5	27.2	26.8	14.8	13.4	-*
Year of Immigration									
Before 1950	8.3	10.6	4.8	19.1	6.6	-	5.4	13.2	-
1950-1959	16.7	12.1	8.1	39.2	13.8	56.7	26.1	68.4	-
1960-1964	16.7	20.4	16.1	40.0	14.4	44.7	34.5	76.4	-
1965-1969	19.9	10.1	8.4	42.0	22.6	49.7	50.5	73.1	-
1970-1974	20.1	18.0	5.8	39.0	26.2	33.9	52.8	64.0	16.0
1975-1980	35.0	14.9	5.2	33.0	48.5	28.1	41.6	51.2	11.0

*The number is too small for reliable estimation.

the two censuses, especially in the percentage of college graduates, closely reflects the amount of their respective upward achievements over the past decade.

The educational advantages of Asian Americans, enumerated above, do not necessarily imply corresponding economic advantages as commonly assumed. The general perception that equates economic advantages with educational advantages is based on the assumption of equitable conversion of educational achievements into economic gains. Some evidence, however, suggests that for many Asian Americans, the economic reward of education is limited, as compared with that of majority individuals and that of non-Asian minority groups. Indeed, reports based on earlier census data and the 1976 Survey of Income and Education (e.g., U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1978; Woodrum, 1981) have shown that for Japanese and Chinese Americans, both the occupational returns of their educational achievement and the income returns of their educational and occupational achievement are lower than those for the White majority. Occupational and income returns for the Filipinos are similar to those for the Whites; however, data for other Asian American groups are not available. While the issue on income returns is controversial and involves a more sophisticated approach, this analysis only deals with the match and mismatch of occupation and education across racial and ethnic groups. To accomplish this task, a simple two by two cell typology is used.

Education	**Occupation**	
	Professional, Administrative & Managerial	Other Occupations
4+ years of college	A	B
Less than 4+ years of college	C	D

A: Occupation matches educational attainment
B: Mismatch - underutilization of education
C: Occupational achievement beyond educational attainment
D: Lower occupation matches lower education

As Table 3 indicates, most Asian American groups are disadvantaged in the form of B cell mismatch, i.e., underutilization of education for their employment. Since this typology is based on broad classifications of education and occupations, it tends to be conservative rather than definitive in estimating the degree of mismatch. In other words, any substantial difference in B between a particular minority group and the majority group implies real disadvantages the former faces in achieving economic parity occupationally.

On the other hand, Asian Americans are in a favorable position in the form of C, i.e., occupational achievement beyond educational credentials, except for the Koreans and the Vietnamese. Tabulations of detailed occupation data and class of worker data for those in this category, however, reveal that the majority of Asian Americans are located at the lower end of the professional, administrative and managerial rank, and that Asian Americans have higher proportions of the self-employed than any non-Asian groups. This finding reflects the increasingly prosperous small business among several Asian American groups. Self-employed small business operators have better chances for upward mobility, since they are less constrained by the American occupational structure and its associated mobility channels. However, petit entrepreneurs contribute little to the structural assimilation of an immigrant group.

Table 3

Education and Occupation Match and Mismatch by Race, 1980

Education/ Occupation	White %	Black %	Hispanic %	Chinese %	Japanese %	Korean %	Filipino %	Asian Indian %	Vietnamese %
With 4+ Years of College Education									
Professional, Administrative and Managerial	67.9	67.8	59.8	61.6	63.7	48.4	49.5	67.5	50.6
Other Occupations	32.1	32.2	40.2	38.4	36.3	51.6	50.5	32.5	49.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(16,743)	(973)	(443)	(8,183)	(5,658)	(2,701)	(7,650)	(5,545)	(589)
With Less Than 4 Years of College Education									
Professional, Administrative and Managerial	14.6	7.9	7.6	14.8	15.1	11.7	19.5	19.0	8.8
Other Occupations	85.4	92.1	92.4	85.2	84.9	88.3	80.5	81.0	91.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(62,793)	(8,414)	(4,502)	(11,620)	(12,988)	(4,590)	(9,973)	(3,624)	(3,285)

We now turn to our second objective. To operationalize the concept of economic milieu, we used the ratio of family income to the poverty cut-offs. The poverty cut-offs, developed by the Social Security Administration and used by the federal government since the 1960s, are a set of thresholds showing the income needed for basic living expenses, and in particular for a nutritionally adequate diet (Appendix A). A ratio of less than one puts the household in the poverty category. Families below the poverty line no doubt will have extraordinary hardship in allocating resources for educating the younger generation.

Tables 4 and 5 respectively show the percentage of families with school-age children below or around the poverty level by race and ethnicity, place of birth and year of immigration. It became clear that, except the Japanese and the Filipinos, all other groups have a higher percentage of families below the poverty line as compared with the Whites (Table 4). The Chinese and the Koreans are somewhat below the Whites but are far better off than the Blacks and the Hispanics. On the other hand, the Vietnamese, being the newest major immigrant group among Asians, have the highest percentage of subpoverty-level families with school-age children (43.4 percent). Although data on other groups of Southeast Asian refugees are not available for this analysis, it is reasonable to assume that their poverty levels are higher than, or at least comparable to, the Vietnamese level. Since the Vietnamese are the most established refugee group, their poverty level can safely serve as the lower bound in ascertaining the amount of economic resources available for school-age children of the Southeast Asian refugees.

The case of Vietnamese deserves more explication. For those who argue that there is a waiting period between the date of immigration and time of income attainment, such a lag is conspicuously demonstrated in the Vietnamese case. In order to verify the assumption, Table 5 shows the percent of families with school-age children in poverty by the year of immigration. We have found that among those who came between 1975, when the Vietnamese began to arrive, and 1980, the percentage of below-poverty-line families is the highest among the Chinese, the Koreans, and the Filipinos, as well as among the Asian Indians. The difference between the pre-1975 and post-1975 groups is so significant that no statistical test is necessary. The only exception is the Japanese Americans. Since Japan virtually has ceased to be an emigrant country, the insignificant difference between the pre-1975 and post-1975 periods is largely attributed to the low level of, and extremely selective, Japanese immigration to the United States.

Summary and Discussion

Based on the 1980 census sample data, we have depicted a general profile of the educational attainment by six Asian American groups and three non-Asian groups, and have assessed the racial/ethnic differences in the poverty level of families with school-age children. Several major Asian American groups no doubt have the highest level of educational attainment, especially in terms of the percentage of college graduates. Yet the Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian refugee groups are still far from achieving a comparable educational level. Furthermore, several Asian groups, including the Chinese, still have substantial proportions with no or minimum education. Asian Americans also demonstrated a notable increase in their overall educational attainment during the 1970s. A significant part of this increase is obviously attributable to the selective immigration of well-educated Asians. Our data have also revealed much higher proportions of Asian Americans than other groups in terms of occupation/education mismatch. The key educational problem for Asian Americans, therefore, concerns the effective utilization of education rather than educational attainment per se.

Table 4

Poverty Level by Race for School-Age Children (6-17 Years Old), 1980

Poverty Level	White %	Black %	Hispanic %	Chinese %	Japanese %	Korean %	Filipino %	Asian Indian %	Vietnamese %
Below Poverty Cut-Off	10.0	35.6	31.4	15.7	4.2	12.0	6.2	10.2	43.4
Ratio of 1.00-1.99 of Poverty Cut-Off	18.6	29.9	29.7	22.6	8.9	22.9	20.0	13.5	28.6
Ratio of 2.00+ of Poverty Cut-Off	71.4	34.5	38.9	61.7	86.9	65.1	73.8	76.3	28.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(32,731)	(6,375)	(3,774)	(6,704)	(4,425)	(3,303)	(7,513)	(3,220)	(3,283)

Table 5

Percent of Asian American School-Age Children (6-17 Years Old) Below Poverty Level by Parents' Year of Immigration

Parents' Year of Immigration	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino	Asian Indian	Vietnamese
Born in the U.S.	5.7	2.7	3.6	11.0	21.6	-*
Year of Immigration						
Before 1965	7.2	9.6	4.5	5.2	5.0	-
1965-1974	11.3	6.2	8.0	3.9	4.8	30.3
1975-1980	38.8	9.4	19.5	11.6	23.2	43.9

*The number is too small for reliable estimation.

Perhaps the most significant finding of this analysis is the fact that except for the Japanese, Asian Americans have a higher percentage of families with school-age children in the poverty class than the Whites. This is somewhat surprising in view of the common perception of Asian Americans as a "model minority" and the well established fact that Asian children, regardless of national origin, have superior school performance across the country. This issue thus deserves more discussion.

There are three major explanations for the high achieving behavior of Asian American children in schools. First, according to Blackwell, most Asian children come from highly educated families with considerable resources for children to be familiar with educational tools, such as computer terminals at home. It is the home milieu which propels Asian American children into the world of science and technology. Partially selective, Blackwell's observation was influenced by his colleagues at the University of Massachusetts and around the Boston area where prestigious institutions have admitted a considerably higher percentage of Asian American freshmen in the past decade. Second, all immigrant children may be characterized by the "immigrant rigor" when their aspiration level is raised by the knowledge of other people's success stories. Being the newest immigrants, many Asians would be included in that category. Third, Caudill posited, based on his earlier work on Japanese children, that Asian children's high scholastic achievement came from their sense of guilt over the sacrifice of their parents, a thesis which has been well confirmed by other researchers (Caudill, 1962; DeVos, 1960). The immigrant rigor hypothesis hardly needs further discussion. We have learned, for example, that even among European immigrants in the early twentieth century, there was a differential pace of social mobility between East European Jews and Southern European immigrants despite the fact that these two groups had arrived about the same time. As Strodtbeck (1958) argued, the "rigor" so pronounced among immigrant families must be explained by some other factors, such as familial patterns, etc.

In spite of much literature on the psychological explanation of the Asian success stories in schools, there still exists the myth that Asian parents are well-off since they came from the professional background as a result of the selective immigration policy and the "brain drain" from Asian countries. The 1980 census may not dispute or support such arguments, but the data presented here can at least show that the phenomenon of the "well-off" Asian children may not be the case. The data, however, cannot be used to make inferences on the high scholastic achievement relative to the other two explanations. We submit that ideally we should have data on scholastic achievement as dependent variables in order to avoid possible ecological fallacy. We lack such data at this time. The finding in this analysis, however, does suggest that at the group level, the superior school achievement of Asian American school children is not associated with their economic milieu.

APPENDIX A

Poverty Cut-Offs in 1979

Size of Family Unit	Weighted Average Thresholds	Related Children under 18 Years								
		None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more
1 person (unrelated individual)	$ 3,686									
under 65 years	3,774	$ 3,774								
65 years and over	3,479	3,479								
2 persons	4,723									
householder under 65 years	4,876	4,858	$ 5,000							
householder 65 years and over	4,389	4,385	4,981							
3 persons	5,787	5,674	5,839	$ 5,844						
4 persons	7,412	7,482	7,605	7,356	$ 7,382					
5 persons	8,776	9,023	9,154	8,874	8,657	$ 8,525				
6 persons	9,915	10,378	10,419	10,205	9,999	9,693	$ 9,512			
7 persons	11,237	11,941	12,016	11,759	11,580	11,246	10,857	$10,429		
8 persons	12,484	13,356	13,473	13,231	13,018	12,717	12,334	11,936	$11,835	
9 or more persons	14,812	16,066	16,144	15,929	15,749	15,453	15,046	14,677	14,586	$14,024

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ASSESSMENT OF LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENT CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

Vicki Siegel and Linda Halog

The Special Education Resource Network has received funding to develop a training program for the assessment of Filipino, Chinese and Vietnamese students who may have special needs. Efforts have already begun to compile a consultant bank of interpreters/translators, resource persons and assessors who are fluent in the Filipino, Chinese and Vietnamese languages. Materials are being collected that pertain to the cultures, languages, and behavioral and language developmental norms for children in the Philippines, China and Indochina.

A training program for assessing Cantonese speaking LEP students has been developed by Chinese psychologists, psycholinguists and resource persons and has been field-tested in two California locations. The purpose of the training is to acquaint monolingual English speaking and bilingual professionals with legal obligations, background information and strategies in the appropriate assessment of LEP-students with special needs.

This includes:

(1) Knowledge of culture; e.g., familial expectations and educational background of Chinese speaking students.

(2) Dialects and structural considerations in regard to the Chinese language (specifically Cantonese and Mandarin).

(3) Comparison of Chinese and English phonology, grammatical constructions, tones and intonation systems and conversational rules.

(4) Assessment techniques and strategies in English and in the primary language for distinguishing between normal second language learning and delay/disorders.

(5) Interview and observation techniques adapted for Chinese speakers.

(6) Training and use of interpreters/translators in assessment.

A description of the training itself and what it includes will be presented as well as aspects of evaluation and supplementary materials used.

The paper is designed to provide information for those bilingual educators who need or desire to know more about the assessment of LEP students who may be appropriate candidates for special education. It is also for those who wish to know about training materials, personnel and resources in California which may be useful for bilingual and special educators in other parts of the country as well.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe a training program developed by the Special Education Resource Network (SERN) on the assessment of Limited English Proficient (LEP) students who speak Cantonese. The program is one of three being prepared by SERN as part of a federally funded VI-D Grant for Training and Dissemination of Resources for the Assessment of Limited English Proficient Children by Monolingual English Speaking Assessors. The other two will address the assessment of Vietnamese and Tagalog speaking children. All three training programs are designed for special education personnel: psychologists, speech and language pathologists and resource specialists; however, bilingual educators, administrators and regular classroom teachers are also encouraged to participate. The Cantonese, Vietnamese and Filipino components all have as their purpose aiding the English speaking professional with the assessment of students in their schools. Aspects of the training address:

(1) Culture: Familial expectations and educational background, as well as other cultural considerations such as attitudes toward handicapping conditions.

(2) Language: Aspects of dialects and structure of the language: phonology, syntax, tones and intonation systems and conversational rules.

(3) Assessment Considerations: How to utilize interpreters; how to make use of culture and language information in assessment; how to modify instruments; and how to use a variety of informal techniques to distinguish between normal second language learning patterns and delayed, disordered or otherwise problematic language and behavior.

In addition to training, grant objectives provide for: (1) locating training materials and test instruments pertaining to assessing these broad cultural groups; (2) developing a resource bank of fluent assessors, interpreters/translators and resource people who speak the target languages; (3) keeping abreast of new information pertaining to assessment and instructional strategies for Chinese, Indochinese and other Asian/Pacific LEP children; and (4) making these available to the field.

Before describing the training itself, it is important that we go over:

(1) The court cases in the area of bilingual education and nonbiased assessment that have made it necessary for assessment personnel to know and utilize assessment information and strategies for LEP students who may have special needs.

(2) The way in which the Personnel Department Unit and SERN work to provide comprehensive planning in staff development for districts; assist with training, policy and resource gathering efforts in the area of LEP assessment; and provide in-service training as appropriate.

(3) California's unique needs as a major population center for Chinese, Indochinese and other Asian/Pacific residents.

1. Court Cases

To understand the importance of our project, it is necessary to analyze, from a historical perspective, present legal requirements regarding testing and teaching Limited English Proficient (LEP) children. Three court cases which influenced present legislation in Bilingual Education and Special Education of LEP students will be discussed: Lau v. Nichols, Diana v. State Board of Education, and Larry P. v. Riles.

Lau v. Nichols (1974), a class action suit that originated in the San Francisco schools, had broad implications for the instruction of LEP students. The plaintiffs were thirteen Chinese-American students, one of whom was Kenni Lau, and their families. At the time, the school district did not have a program for Chinese immigrant students to learn English, and yet, as stated in the text of the eventual U.S. Supreme Court decision, "Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach." The suit charged that the schools were in violation of the civil rights of the students as Americans in that the district, by not having a program for learning English, did not offer these children the opportunity to derive equal benefits from the educational program. The Court ruled unanimously in favor of the plaintiffs and focused on the English proficiency requirements for graduation from high school. The opinion of the Court stated:

> "Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the education program, he must already have acquired those basic skills, is to make a mockery of public education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful."[1]

The Supreme Court held that the district violated the Civil Rights Act of 1965 and ordered that a comprehensive program be developed to address the needs of all the Chinese students in the district. As a result of this decision, the federal court devised a plan to investigate every school system in the nation where non-English speaking students made up more than 5% of the enrollments. The implications were broad and sweeping. A comprehensive plan for Bilingual Education became no longer just optional but was federally mandated. A new respect for the diversity of cultures and languages emerged in education.

The following two cases, which also originated in California, had serious implications for the assessment of minority students referred for Special Education.

Diana v. State Board of Education (1970) involved nine Mexican-American children who had been placed in a program for the Educable Mentally Retarded (EMR) based upon standard IQ testing in English. Retesting of these students in Spanish resulted in scores that were an average of 15 points higher than their original IQ scores. The suit charged that the assessment procedures for placement in special classes were discriminatory against Mexican-American children. The case was consequently settled out of court and the California State Board of Education agreed to the following:

(1) All bilingual children must be tested in both their own language and English.

(2) Non-verbal and performance parts of standardized tests may be used.

(3) Mexican-American children in EMR classes must be re-tested in their primary language using non-verbal tests.

(4) An intelligence test standardized and normed on Mexican-American children must be developed.

(5) Each district with a statistically determined significant racial/ethnic disparity in regular and special classes must submit an explanation for the disparity.

A subsequent review of five districts which were found to have a significant racial/ethnic disparity in regular and Special Education classes yielded information which would suggest that gross malpractices in the assessment of LEP students continue to occur. The follow-up to the case remains unsettled.

In another class action suit, Larry P. v. Riles (1979), the court held that the standardized intelligence tests used for placing Black children in classes for the mentally retarded are racially and culturally biased and have a discriminatory influence against Black children. The plaintiffs were several Black elementary school children who had been wrongfully placed and held in EMR classes.

As a consequence of this litigation, it is now of paramount importance for the State to provide guidelines to assist school districts with the nonbiased assessment of all Language Minority children. The particular project takes steps toward that goal in reference to specific Language Minority groups.

2. Staff Development

The Multilingual Assessment and Instructional Unit (MAIU) is part of the Special Education Resource Network (SERN), an organization of the California State Personnel Development Unit. SERN is comprised of nine regional units throughout the State of California and provides comprehensive planning in staff development regarding Special Education issues. SERN representatives assist districts in developing a plan for staff development and may provide direct training, materials, personnel and/or other resources to assist in training. Topics include "Cooperative Learning," "Student Study Team Process" and "Neurolinguistic Programming." SERN itself is not restricted to providing services for LEP students, whereas MAIU has been developed for that purpose. SERN is a network of special education personnel that relies on further networking with other professionals in the field who may be able to assist with actual training or in providing resources for training. Anyone involved in providing services to children may contact SERN.

SERN is also comprised of special topic centers which include MAIU. Other special centers are: (1) Training and Resource Group which provides training for the severely disabled student; (2) Parent Education which focuses on work with parents ; and (3) Infant Preschool which concentrates on those children not yet in schools.

The comprehensive planning aspect of SERN services involves conducting assessments by the district and SERN staff of the needs of the district requesting SERN services. Specific areas are targeted in a cooperative planning manner, and an action plan is developed. SERN representatives attempt to optimize the use of local resources and to assure follow-up by conducting ongoing training and/or making other contacts throughout the school year. Each training session is evaluated by the participants in different areas which include clarity of objectives, content knowledge of presenters, presentations and materials used.

3. California's Unique Needs

California is in a unique position with regard to the Chinese and Indochinese population in the United States. San Francisco is the point of entry for Chinese immigrants. Many of them remain in California where there is a historically significant Chinese community with extensive economic, political, social and educational roots and connections, and where immigrants can find a common language, education and services available for them. Since 1975 large numbers of Vietnamese and other Indochinese have come to California from Southeast Asia and from other parts of the United States where they had originally resettled. As a result, there are sizable Vietnamese and Indochinese communities in San Francisco, San Jose, Orange County and San Diego, as well as a substantial Hmong and Mien population in Central California in and around Merced and Fresno.

According to California's 1981-82 racial, ethnic and language census data,[2] of the State's 4 million students in schools, 44% are minority students; 25.8% are Hispanic, 5.5% are Asian and 1.6% are Filipino. Of all students, 10.6% are LEP, and the majority of those students speak Spanish, Vietnamese, Cantonese, Filipino and Korean. The percentage of LEP students in California schools is significantly higher than the corresponding percentage in the nation's schools as a whole. The LEP population is also increasing. Between 1980 and 1982, the Vietnamese population increased 98%, and the Cantonese population grew 58% and the number of speakers of other languages rose 55%.

There have been more services to accommodate this growing population of LEP individuals, but the available services are increasing at a much slower rate. California's teaching staff of approximately 204,500 is only 6.1% Hispanic and 3.2% Asian. The bilingual education staff is 89% Hispanic, with 691 Vietnamese teachers for approximately 23,000 students, 674 Chinese teachers for some 16,000 students and 285 Filipino teachers for roughly 8,500 students. Between 1980 and 1982, the numbers of bilingual teachers and aides increased by 19% and 18%, respectively. From these brief descriptions of the numbers involved, it is not difficult to see that the LEP student-teacher ratio has been worsening quickly. Between 1980 and 1982, the LEP student population increased by 32%, with about 70% of those students in grades K-6. Monolingual English speaking teachers and support personnel are at this stage charged with providing instruction for these students and are, therefore, in need of extensive training. Several studies, done in 1980 under the auspices of the California State Department of Education, indicate that Special Education professionals are ill equipped to handle this growing population. Stephanie Twomey points out that, based on her survey of 266 staff members, psychologists and assessment personnel do not use available nonbiased tests such as the SOMPA; that the home language is only moderately considered; and that there is limited reference to culture, adaptive behavior and language in Special Education assessment and placement. According to Twomey, Special Education personnel rely on traditional IQ testing almost exclusively and often do not make use of language proficiency testing or tests in the primary

language. Special Education personnel do not seem to be aware of the inadequacy of standardized instruments for LEP students.

Dulay, Burt and McKeon, in their October 1980 survey of professionals, noted that 50% of those surveyed felt programs to be less than adequate in assessment tools, procedures, and personnel, as well as remediation materials and strategies.

Many professionals relied on translated tests such as the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Tests translated on site, for example. This finding was borne out in the Diana remedy fact finding site visits and investigations in which it was discovered that 36 school districts appeared to be overidentifying LEP students as EMR, based on inappropriate use of test instruments, overreliance on standardized testing, limited information on primary language use, etc. Many districts need assistance so that they do not overidentify LEP students who are not in fact appropriate for Special Education. The Diana remedy did not address the probably even greater number of school districts underidentifying LEP students in need of Special Education services.

In general, these studies and comments over a three-year period from the field of professional organizations have suggested that needs exist in the following areas:

(1) Selection, training and use of interpreters/translators.

(2) Knowledge of existing tests, and how to use and evaluate them.

(3) Normative and theoretical information on first and second language acquisition including language universals.

(4) Cultural information pertaining to work with students and parents.

(5) Informal assessment strategies.

(6) Application level or practice training with interpreters/ translators and cases.

(7) Knowledge of available personnel and materials, and how to use them.

The training that has been completely developed to date and field-tested is called Assessing the Chinese American Student with Limited English Proficiency. The Chinese LEP training was developed out of several task force meetings involving Asian psychologists and special educators. Several professionals were targeted to write sections of the training on culture, use and modification of psychological and language assessment instruments, use of interpreters, interviewing and report writing. These were later compiled into a three-part training program with sections on culture, language and psychological assessment, under the overall direction of Amy Tan, a consultant psycholinguist. The modules were presented in a preliminary field test session for Chinese speaking psychologists, speech and language specialists and special educators, who then gave feedback and indicated their interest in presenting specific sections themselves as trainers. The three training modules were also sent to independent critics, psychologists and assessors who in turn sent written feedback. All this information was utilized in the third major revision still in progress. As the training manual was further developed, the training itself was field-tested

in two California locations, Sacramento and Los Angeles, utilizing a variety of approaches. In Sacramento, districts which requested the training had taken part in several training sessions in the area of Chinese and Indochinese culture and asked that the language and psychological assessment modules be presented in an afternoon in simultaneous strands for language assessors and psychologists. In Los Angeles, the districts requested a full day of culture training with the language strand presented on another half day for both psychologists and speech and language specialists, and a second half-day in-depth training session in strands for language specialists and psychologists.

The training programs as written were not presented in their entirety; rather, the trainers, Cantonese speaking psychologists working with SERN psychological and speech and language personnel, adapted the modules for presentation. Sections of the training were given as supplementary reading material. Training information given was designed to answer or address the immediate practical needs of the participants. The language section of the training, for example, was adapted to address four areas of language assessment:

(1) Problems in assessing LEP Chinese-American children.

(2) Assessing functional English and Chinese language skills (dominance and proficiency).

(3) Recognizing second language production errors.

(4) Clues to language disorders in LEP Chinese speaking children.

Appendices provided information on Chinese language characteristics, comparisons of English and Chinese speech sounds, features of normal English second language acquisition, and training and selection of interpreters/translators.

It was felt that for speech and language pathologists, it was not necessary to go into the first section dealing with the identification of problems in the assessment of LEP Chinese speaking students. Most assessors were very well aware of the problems and had background in the use of appropriate nonbiased assessment techniques, including evaluation for formal instruments, use of observation, checklists, and other informal devices. Most assessors know but need reminding that translated instruments are invalid as norm referenced tests, and that the use of an interpreter/translator technically invalidates the test. What speech and language pathologists especially wanted to know was the structure of the different Chinese dialects; the fact that there are several dialects which are totally different from each other. They wanted comparisons of Cantonese and English sounds and syntactic structures; some introduction to the tonal system; an idea of how some specific vocabulary and idiomatic expressions corresponded between Cantonese and English; and what they could use of instruments that they knew to get a general idea of a student's functioning in both Cantonese and English. Specific instruments were examined item by item to give the participants an idea of what items it was possible to use to translate and what items and concepts were simply not translatable. English as a second language learning information was also presented so that speech and language specialists might be encouraged to appropriately evaluate a Chinese student's English and to distinguish between normal second language learning and other problems that might be indicative of a speech and language disorder.

Psychologists needed some practice on case analysis and evaluation of cultural factors, educational background and other needs, as well as an item by item analysis of the WISC-R and other test materials they were using.

The training plan provided for evaluations of specific sessions through quizzes and self-test instruments, as well as through comment sheets and follow-up interviews with staff members initially present at the training sessions. A questionnaire also asked if a district wanted further training in the assessment and instruction of their Limited English Proficient students.

It has been noted above that a specific objective of the entire grant was to provide assessors with available materials, information and resources pertinent to the assessment of LEP students. The California State Office of Bilingual Bicultural Education is very active in developing materials and disseminating information, compiled by researchers such as Steven Krashen and James Cummins, on normal and optimal development of bilingual individuals. This information was also provided in the Chinese LEP training.

The purpose of this paper was to describe a training program developed by SERN on the assessment of LEP students who speak Cantonese. To help the reader understand the importance of the present project, we presented court cases in Bilingual Education, nonbiased assessment, and California's unique characteristic as a major population center for Chinese, Indochinese and other Asian/Pacific residents. A description of the SERN system was also included to provide familiarization with the method of sharing the project with the field. It is our hope that the reader has become more aware of the dire need for this kind of training.

Notes

1. Charles Euchner, "The Text of the Court's Decision in Lau vs. Nichols," Education Week, III, 18 (January 25, 1984).

2. Stephanie Twomey, A Study of the Effectiveness of Various Nondiscriminatory and Linguistically and Culturally Appropriate Assessment Criteria for Placement of Minority Students in Special Education Programs (Sacramento: California State Department of Education, November 1980).

JOHNNY CAN ADD, BUT WHAT ELSE?

Sau-Lim Tsang

INTRODUCTION

Major revisions in the American mathematics curriculum since the 1960s have led to significant differences between the mathematics curriculum of the United States and those of many other countries. In general, the revisions reorganized the contents--the contents now consist of many of the topics taught at the college level--and placed emphasis on understanding mathematical concepts and on problem solving. Immigrant students, with different cultural and language backgrounds, come to American schools with mathematical knowledge and learning styles they acquired in their own countries. Such knowledge and learning skills might be very different from those of American students. An understanding of these differences, therefore, is important for the delivery of appropriate instruction for these students. This study attempts to explore these differences by examining a group of Chinese immigrant students learning from the American Algebra I curriculum.

The study addresses three research questions: (1) How did the students learn from the teacher and textbook?; (2) What were the students' understandings of the algebraic concepts introduced in the Algebra I class?; and (3) How did the mathematics they acquired in their home country affect their learning of the American mathematics curriculum? Underlying these questions are the students' education and cultural history, the political and social events, which have affected, among other things, their educational aspirations.

To answer these questions and examine the complex interactions of the many factors which affect the students' performance, this research employed the case study method. The object of inquiry of this research method--the case--is a certain bounded system of interest (Stake, 1978). In this study, each case is a student. This method does not entail the use of any particular data collection technique or an interest in any particular data. Instead, the study collected a large variety of qualitative and quantitative data on each student by different means--participant observation, interviews, tests, clinical problem solving sessions, tape recordings, homework and test results, and any combination of these. A case study is the preferred research method when "an empirical inquiry must examine a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 1981: 98).

There are two types of case study designs: the single-case design and the multiple-case design. The latter was the one used by this study. The multiple-case design enables the combination of results from a number of case studies (from two to a few hundred) to generalize the findings. However, the multiple-case design should not be confused with experiments using small samples. The latter is interested in the means and averages of the whole group as the results, while the multiple-case design treats each case as a separate entity and seeks explanatory findings from the case evidence. The findings are then examined across cases to develop explanatory patterns (Kennedy, 1979; Green and David, 1981).

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

This study was conducted at San Francisco's Mission High School. Data collection began in October, 1981 and ended in June, 1982. Twelve Chinese students who had recently arrived in the United States were selected from a Chinese/English bilingual Algebra I class as target students for case studies. However, during the school year, four students dropped out from the study for various reasons, and the study ended up with eight students.

Data were collected in three different periods of the school year by a variety of methods--classroom observations, teacher interviews, student interviews, tests, and clinical studies of individual students' heuristic processes in problem solving. Additional data were also collected from school records, test results and the student's classwork and homework. The following is a summary of the research findings.

FINDINGS

The multiple-case study design of this research enabled the researcher to examine many factors related to the mathematical learning of the Chinese immigrant students. However, two caveats are required for the interpretation of the findings. First, the nature of this design (the small sample size vs. the large number of factors) limited the generalizability of the findings. Consequently, many of them should be considered as hypotheses for further validation.

Second, while the findings were generated from eight Chinese immigrant students, they are probably not unique to this group of students. The researcher provided an extensive description of the research setting and the target students to allow others to interpret the findings accurately and to apply them to other settings and contexts.

1. Teachers

The study originally intended to focus on only one teacher, Mr. Wong (a pseudonym). However, during the second semester, two of the target students were transferred into another Algebra I class taught by Ms. Hall (a pseudonym). Ms. Hall was unreceptive to the study and at first refused to let the researcher observe her class. It was only after repeated requests that she reluctantly allowed the researcher to observe her class twice. And of course, no interview was granted. Therefore, the data collected on Ms. Hall was limited and largely based on the interviews of the two target students in her class.

The two teachers showed extreme differences in their teaching styles and their approaches to the course content. Mr. Wong was completely in tune with the spirit of "modern" mathematics. He closely followed the content and approach of the textbook, placing a great emphasis on understanding. In his interviews, he said that it was more important for the students to understand the concepts than to simply know how to do the problems. He also said that the first three chapters of the Algebra I textbook were the most important part of the course, for they introduced the fundamental algebraic concepts. The students had to master these three chapters. Otherwise they would fall further and further behind as the course progressed, and would have trouble taking more advanced courses. Mr. Wong liked to use the inductive method to teach. He said that the inductive method seemed to capture the students' attention, motivating them to think more. The students characterized his instruction as clear but said that he always made things profound and complicated. Mr. Wong was quite relaxed in the discipline of the class, and there was much student-to-student interaction,

especially during seatwork. However, the class was usually very attentive during his lectures. He said that this was an exceptional class in behavior and not typical of other classes he had.

Ms. Hall, on the other hand, seemed to be the antithesis of the "modern" mathematics teacher. Students said that she was not too good at mathematics and that she never taught any of the more advanced courses. However, the researcher could not verify this information without Ms. Hall's cooperation. Though she used the standard Algebra textbook, she freely omitted topics or chapters she considered unimportant. Usually, the topics she omitted were the fundamental algebraic concepts or those related to them. Thus, she only briefly touched on the first three chapters of the text, did not introduce the number line, and omitted all the materials on graphs. Her main objective of the course was to get the students to proficiently do problems involving factoring. She was very strict in discipline, and her class was always quiet during her lectures and seatwork assignments. Ms. Hall also emphasized that the students should follow the exact procedures she taught in the class, and was concerned with the neatness of her students' work.

The extreme differences of these two teachers indicate the extent to which teachers influence the mathematics curriculum. Despite all the efforts made for curriculum revision in the last twenty years to emphasize understanding and teacher training, there are still classroom teachers teaching the Algebra curriculum of the 1950s.

2. Textbook

The textbook used in the Algebra I class was Algebra: Its Elements and Structure, Book I, Second Edition, by J.H. Banks, M.A. Sobel, and W.T. Walsh. The book is typical of many commercially available algebra texts. It begins by introducing the basic concepts of sets, the real number system, and the number line. Next, it utilizes the number line to introduce the four operations and their properties. Then it moves into open sentences, graphing linear functions, equations and inequalities, polynomials and factoring, quadratic equations and inequalities. The last two chapters of the book are on logic and trigonometry. Neither Mr. Wang nor Ms. Hall covered these chapters. Although the study did not specifically examine the textbook, it nevertheless came up with several observations that might guide future curriculum development efforts.

First, there are a large number of problems covering almost all aspects of the content. However, the number of problems related to each topic seemed to be arbitrarily determined and not based on empirical data on the students' need for practice. Maybe the authors had counted on the teachers to assess students' needs and to adjust the homework and classwork assignments accordingly. However, the two teachers observed in this study did not tailor assignments to the students' needs. Instead they usually assigned the odd numbered or the even numbered problems to the students, thus preserving the proportion of problems assigned to each topic by the textbook authors.

Second, several of the students complained about the concentration of the fundamental algebraic concepts in the first three chapters of the book. The range of new concepts in these initial chapters seemed to be overwhelming to the slower students, many of whom were frustrated. After the first three chapters, these concepts gradually disappeared from the text and were correspondingly forgotten by the target students as the school year progressed. If the fundamental concepts were distributed across more chapters and integrated into other topics, instruction would be more effective.

Despite the treatment by the curriculum of the real numbers as a system with specially defined operations, the students did not seem to acquire this way of thinking. The four basic operations and their accompanying properties were still something associated uniquely and naturally with the real numbers and not an arbitrary system. This can be demonstrated by the target students' performance on the following problems.

Problem II-13: The operation * is defined as: $a * b = 2a + b$
Is * commutative? Why?
Is * associative? Why?

None of the students could do this problem. In fact none of them could understand what * was. They were all perplexed and kept asking whether * was addition or multiplication.

Third, the chapter on graphing linear functions was ineffective. It introduced formulae on how to calculate slopes, distances, midpoint, etc. However, most students could not recall these formulae or confused one with another after a month and were unable to do the related problems. They were not able to derive the formulae or to check whether the formulae were the correct ones. Perhaps this was due to the emphasis of the chapter and its accompanying exercises on the application but not on the understanding of the formulae.

3. Students

The characteristics of the students merit some discussion here. The Algebra I class was a Chinese/English bilingual class, and all the students were limited-English-proficient Chinese. The course was the first in the college prep mathematics series offered by the school. However, observations and test results indicated that the Chinese students in the class were quite varied in their mathematics abilities. The eight target students reflected this diversity in mathematics background. The researcher interviewed these students on why they were taking the Algebra I class. Of the eight, only two indicated that their career choices required them to enroll in the college prep series. One student said that he had excelled in literature in China and wanted to be a writer, whereas the others did not indicate any preferences. They said that they were assigned to the Algebra I class by a school counselor (a Chinese American). The counselor told them that it was important to learn more mathematics since they were not proficient in English, and that all the career opportunities available to them required mathematics training because of their limited English proficiency.

The students were also characterized by their diligence and eagerness to learn. All of them said that they usually spent long hours after school studying and doing the homework. They also said that they actually read the examples in the Algebra textbook at home. They admitted that it was a difficult task, and that they constantly used a dictionary to check the words they did not understand. One student said that she had read the entire chapter, text and examples, to ensure that she did not miss anything. This diligence probably reflects the immigrants' belief that they could gain upward mobility in the United States through education.

4. Word Association Test

The students' responses to the word association test were perplexing. The test asked the students to write down, within one minute, as many mathematical words/concepts as they could think of that were related to the stimulus

words/concepts. Each student was given detailed explanations on the test and responded correctly to the two practice items before the test. However, in the actual testing, five of the eight students failed to give the appropriate type of response to the test. Instead of writing down related items, they wrote down either explanations or examples of the stimulus words/concepts. Only three students answered appropriately.

One could attribute this behavior to the immigrant students' lack of familiarity with the unusual task demands. Or maybe their responses indicated that the students did not perceive mathematical concepts to exist in an interrelated structure. For them, each concept was independent.

However, three of the target students did give appropriate responses. This result was apparently not related to the students' mathematics ability. Of these three students, one was a high achiever from Hong Kong, one an average achiever from Saigon, and one a low achiever from Hong Kong. Classroom observations showed that the three did share one commonality: they were more eager to learn what was taught in the Algebra I class than to apply what they had learned before coming to this country. They were also the ones that used more of the methods and procedures taught in the Algebra I course to solve the problems during the individual work sessions.

Furthermore, this result indicated that being able to conceive mathematical concepts in an interrelated structure is not related to the students' understanding of the concepts. For example, two of the target students were among the best mathematics achievers but failed to give any appropriate responses to the word association test, whereas one student who gave the most appropriate responses to the word association test did not demonstrate a firm grasp of the algebraic concepts during the problem solving session. The students' inability to see the connection among various algebraic concepts might be partly attributable to the exercises given in the textbook which were usually narrowly focused and required the application of only one concept.

5. Sorting Test

The sorting test was straightforward. It asked the students to sort twenty-eight words/concepts, each written on a 3 x 5 card, into related piles. The students had no difficulty in completing the task. The most interesting result was that the three students who gave the appropriate responses to the word association test grouped the twenty-eight concepts into only six categories, while the others had from eight to ten groups. This implied that the twenty-eight concepts appeared to be more interrelated for these three students than for the others. The results of the sorting test correspond well with those of the word association test. One must note, however, that the word association test was administered in December, the third month of the school year, when the students were first introduced to the algebraic concepts, whereas the sorting test took place in the following June, when they had two semesters of instruction and experience with the concepts.

6. Understanding vs. Rules

Although Mr. Wong focused his instruction on understanding concepts and did not teach rules which could expedite problem-solving, the high achievers were able to discover many of these rules by themselves. They did so while undertaking the numerous homework assignments. But this discovery process did not hold true for the lower achievers who usually learned only what they were taught and were not able to derive the shortcuts by themselves. The following problem illustrates this:

Problem I-12: Find the solution set $-7x \leq 4$.

The procedure taught in the class, which was also the procedure used by the lower achievers, was to find the solution to the equation $-7x = 4$ which yielded $x = -4/7$. Plot the point, $-4/7$, on the number line. Find any two points on both sides of $-4/7$, substitute them back in the inequality $-7x \leq 4$ to determine the solution set. However, the two higher achievers did the problem by moving the coefficient -7 onto the right hand side of the inequality as the denominator. Because the coefficient was a negative value, they reversed the inequality sign. When interviewed, they explained that they had discovered the rule themselves, and that they were able to show the researcher how they had arrived at the rule.

Conversely, if the lower achievers had been taught only rules, they probably would have learned to do the problems accordingly, but without understanding the reasoning behind the process.

How about the higher achievers if they were taught only rules? They are likely to be able to discover the reasoning behind the rules, and especially if the exercises facilitate the discovery. But due to the lack of such problems and tasks in the textbook, the discovery would not come as easily.

7. Effect of Pre-U.S. Math Learning

A common characteristic of the mathematics curriculum taught in the eight target students' native countries was the emphasis on tests. The educational systems in these countries were all very competitive. Every student had to pass a series of public examinations in order to advance to higher levels of schooling. Thus, the main objective of the teachers was to help the students obtain good scores on the examinations. Mathematics was taught with the same objective; teachers concentrated on the students' ability to do problems quickly and accurately. The students, therefore, learned many rules and formulae to solve different types of problems expediently. Because of their previous exposure to this type of orientation, the students were perplexed by the curriculum taught by the Algebra I teacher. In general, they said that the explanations were clearer, but the way they were presented made the concepts too profound and complicated. When the homework assignments could be done with the rules and formulae they had learned before immigrating, they would ignore the methods and procedures taught in the class and proceed with their own methods. Consequently, they would forget most of what was taught in the class.

Since Mr. Wong was quite relaxed in his style and allowed almost free student-to-student interaction, there was much peer teaching in the class. Consequently, many of the rules and formulae, though not taught by the teacher, were transferred from one student to another. Having acquired these rules and formulae to facilitate their problem solving, the students would abandon the more cumbersome procedures learned in class.

A second aspect of the students' past experience in mathematics was their unfamiliarity with problems that did not ask for a specific solution or a set of solutions, i.e., problems that asked for proofs or explanations. The students had seldom encountered such problems in their native countries, and many were lost when faced with such tasks. They did not know how to write proofs or explanations. For example, none of the target students was able to do the following problem:

Problem II-18: Is the following proof correct? Why?

Let $x = 2$ and $y = 1$. Then,

$$x^2 - 2xy + y^2 = x^2 - 2xy + y^2$$

$$x^2 - 2xy + y^2 = y^2 - 2xy + x^2$$
$$(x - y)^2 = (y - x)^2$$
$$(x - y) = (y - x)$$
$$2x = 2y$$
$$x = y$$
$$2 = 1$$

The following is a comparatively easy problem. Although most of the students gave the correct answer, none of them was able to write the explanation.

Problem I-3: True or false? Why?
If $a > 0$, $b < 0$ and $|a| > |b|$,
Then $a + b = -(|a| - |b|)$

Lastly, Algebra is taught in the target students' native countries, unlike in the United States, throughout the secondary school years as part of an integrated mathematics curriculum. Therefore, most of them had some cursory introduction to many algebraic concepts. This seemed to give a false confidence to the students, especially the higher mathematics achievers, who tended to think that they had already mastered the subject and did not pay attention to the class.

8. Problem-Solving Characteristics

The eight target students broadly followed the general problem solving procedure suggested by G. Polya in his book, How to Solve It. The procedure consists of four steps: (1) try to understand the problem; (2) find the connection between the data and the unknown to develop a solution plan; (3) carry out the plan; and (4) examine the solution obtained. However, the students also used strategies worth mentioning.

Since all the eight students were of limited English proficiency, they would first read the word problems as they were written in English and then usually reread the word problems again in Chinese to ensure that they understood the problems. The ways in which their lack of English proficiency affected the understanding of the problems differed according to their mathematics abilities. For the higher achievers, English did not seem to affect comprehension much. Somehow, they were able to decode the mathematics underneath all the words. The lower achievers were more dependent on their English proficiency. They usually said that they did not understand the problem because there was one or more English words that they did not know. But even after the researcher had translated every word to them, they often did not understand the problem.

Secondly, as was discussed earlier, the students tended to apply more rules and formulae than strategies such as trial and error or diagraming. Since, however, there was no comparison group, this finding might be a function of the problems and not the students.

Lastly, except for one, none of the students had the habit of checking the results or solution. Maybe this was the result of training in their native countries, where speed was emphasized so that they could do as many problems as possible within a time limit, a skill that was essential to obtaining good grades.

9. Graphs

The topic of graphs was especially difficult for the students. They were not able to do most of the graph problems except for the straightforward ones which asked them to plot lines of equations. For this type of problem, they

could follow the procedures of writing down several number pairs and drawing a line through the points. Any graph problems that were somewhat unusual would present many difficulties to the students. For example, none of the students was able to do the following problem:

Problem II-5: Graph all points (x, y) such that x and y are both between 1 and 2.

After observing these students, this researcher felt that they really did not grasp the relationship between two-dimensional space and its mathematical representations. However, this difficulty in graphing might be applicable to all students, and not only to these immigrant students.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Teacher Education

The differences between the two teachers' teaching styles and course objectives observed in this study have profound implications for pre-service and in-service of mathematics teachers. If the "modern math" curriculum is to be represented by today's mathematics textbooks, we have to ensure that the teachers do not superficially treat or ignore altogether their content. This is especially important in light of the current shortage of mathematics teachers.

To fill the vacancies, many schools have assigned teachers with no formal mathematics training to teach this subject. One can only wonder what type of mathematics is being taught to the students in these classes. A concerted effort must be made to attract into the field of education more people properly trained in mathematics.

2. Textbook

Several areas of the mathematics textbook could be improved. First, the number of problems included in the exercises should be re-examined. Teachers should be given guidance on how to assign problems. This is an area where we must conduct further research in order to guide curriculum revision efforts. There also is an overabundance of problems emphasizing the application of concepts rather than the understanding of the concepts. By utilizing problems which would develop a more conceptual understanding, the students' comprehension of concepts might be increased.

Second, the fundamental algebraic concepts should be introduced more gradually and integrated with other topics of the text. This would avoid overwhelming the students with too much too soon, allow for the learning of the concepts in more diverse and relevant contexts, and prevent the teachers from easily skipping over the material in their instruction.

Third, the chapter on analytical geometry is isolated and places special emphasis on the application of formulae. The students did not seem to understand the derivations of the formulae and tended to forget or become confused with the formulae once they moved on to other chapters.

3. Problem Solving

To improve the performance of the lower achievers, the findings suggest that they be introduced to rules and formulae which would expedite their problem-solving. However, these rules and formulae must be introduced only after the

students have grasped the concepts, and in such a way that the students understand their derivations. Otherwise, as the study suggests, the students will easily forsake understanding for convenience.

4. Teaching Immigrant Students

Teachers of Chinese immigrant students, at least those from Southeast Asia, must place a great emphasis on the understanding of mathematical concepts in their instruction. Since most of these students have been taught to apply rules and formulae in doing problems expediently in tests, they tend to project an impression that they are all high achievers. However, their ability to obtain good scores in examinations or tests does not imply that what they have learned matches the objectives of the American mathematics curriculum. The teachers must be sensitive to the special needs of these students and tailor their teaching methods to guide the students into the essence of the American mathematics curriculum.

5. Pre-Algebra Course

Many of the lower achieving students who were placed in the Algebra I class were overwhelmed by the many abstract concepts and the "profound" way in which the basic number properties were explained. These students could benefit more from a pre-algebra course where the fundamental number theory and properties are treated in depth but gradually. Such a course would not only help the students master the basics, but also facilitate their advancement to the Algebra I curriculum.

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ENGLISH STANDARD SCHOOLS: A POLICY ANALYSIS

Amy Agbayani and David Takeuchi

INTRODUCTION

The development of education in Hawaii has previously been characterized as a conflict over language (Stueber, 1964). This conflict was never more evident than during the 1924-1960 period when the English Standard School (ESS) system existed. The ESS separated students according to their ability to speak English. Students who passed an English proficiency test were sent to English Standard Schools; students who failed attended regular public schools.

The conflict over language, however, was part of an even stronger tension, a conflict over class and ethnicity. It is clear that the dual school system was intended to maintain the status and identity of the Caucasian middle class. What is not clear is how the ESS system affected members of other ethnic groups. The impact has not been consistent for the ethnic groups excluded from the ESS. For example, Japanese and Filipino students were underrepresented in the ESS, but the degrees of their social and economic success by 1980 are quite different. The Japanese are well represented in professional and managerial positions in Hawaii, while the Filipinos are grossly underrepresented. Part-Hawaiians were well represented in the ESS but are now doing poorly on most measures of occupational and educational success. What accounts for these differences?

This paper uses John Ogbu's theory on minority education as a framework to discuss and explain the different educational experiences of the four largest ethnic groups in Hawaii. Ogbu's typology is useful in classifying the conditions and opportunities which were available to each ethnic group. These conditions and opportunities helped to shape school experiences and occupational attainment.

OGBU'S THEORY

The issues of minority education have recently been placed in a new perspective with the advent of John Ogbu's Minority Education and Caste (1978). Ogbu argues that education is directly related to typical adult roles in the post-school world. The different positions traditionally assigned to Blacks and Whites, and to the dominant and minority cultures, affect the school performance of each ethnic group. The education of the dominant (White) culture prepares its members to compete for the most desirable roles in the society. The education of minority students, on the other hand, prepares them for very different roles. When one recognizes this, minority student performance and subsequent minority occupational success can be seen in a new light.

Ogbu makes a distinction among three types of minority groups: autonomous, caste, and immigrant. Autonomous minorities tend to be numerically smaller than, but not totally subordinated economically or politically to, the dominant group. They often possess a distinct racial, religious, linguistic, or cultural identity. They may be subject to some prejudice and discrimination, but their relationship with the dominant group is not one of rigid stratification. Members of autonomous minorities do not necessarily regard the majority group as their reference group, nor do they necessarily want to be culturally assimilated.

Caste minorities are usually regarded as inherently inferior in all respects. They are excluded from the most desirable jobs or roles. Their subordination is both political and economic.

Immigrant minorities fall between autonomous and caste minorities. They are people who have moved into a host society. As strangers, immigrant minorities tend to live in groups and operate effectively outside the established definitions of social relations. They can accept and even anticipate prejudice and discrimination as the price of achieving their ultimate objectives. Although they may initially occupy the lowest positions in the occupational structure of their host society and possess little power or prestige, the jobs they hold may be better than what was available to them in their home country. They see themselves as in the process of bettering their lives in a new country.

Having made these distinctions, Ogbu discusses the educational experience of each group. Autonomous minorities are trained to occupy high status roles. In some cases, the autonomous minorities may have their own educational system outside the formal educational system of the dominant group. The important point is that with the autonomous minorities, as with the dominant culture, there is a direct connection between success in school and success in adult life. School achievement for dominant culture children will have a bearing on the roles they play in later life. The better students will tend to have the better jobs, and so on. This same relationship holds true among autonomous minority children.

Contrary to this, caste minorities are not trained to compete effectively for high status occupations in society. This is because the caste minorities are restricted to the least desirable social and occupational roles. The barriers against caste minorities which exist in the post-school society shape their educational expectancies. They are not taught the same skills as other students and they lack the motivation to do well in school.

The children of immigrant minorities are also likely to occupy the lowest social and economic positions of the host society, but their situation is different from that of the caste minorities. They see themselves as in a period of transition. Even though formal education may not bring the benefits of high social status, they are motivated by the anticipation that such rewards are possible either in the host society or elsewhere.

Ogbu also states that the status of minority groups may change. For example, autonomous minorities may become caste minorities. Immigrant minorities may become autonomous or caste minorities. It is also possible for minority groups to assimilate with the dominant group.

In summary, Ogbu is suggesting that the educational experiences of minority groups are determined by the occupational structure of the society. When high-level occupational roles are available, as with autonomous minorities, there is a need for academic achievement. When occupational barriers exist, as with caste minorities, academic achievement is secondary.

Ogbu's theory has much application in explaining how ethnic groups adjusted and performed in the Hawaii school system during the period under study. All the groups had unique social conditions which not only brought them to the islands, but also contributed to shaping their lives in Hawaii. The following discussion focuses on the history of the English Standard School and the participation of the four largest ethnic groups in the ESS system, the regular public schools and private schools. The final section utilizes Ogbu's typology as a framework to discuss the differences among the Caucasian, Filipino, Japanese and Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian groups in Hawaii.

SCHOOLING IN HAWAII PRIOR TO THE ESS

The English Standard School system established its roots soon after the English speaking missionaries arrived in Hawaii during the 1820s. The missionaries organized the first formal schools and developed the Hawaiian oral tradition into a written language. The first schools were religious missionary schools taught in Hawaiian for Hawaiian adults. The missionaries eventually established schools for their own and Hawaiian children. Haole,[1] or Caucasian, and higher status Hawaiian or Part-Hawaiian children were enrolled in a few exclusive private schools. For some period, there was public support for the private church-related schools.

Most Hawaiian children enrolled in two types of government schools: "common" schools taught in the Hawaiian language and "select" schools taught in English. These select schools initially charged a small tuition and were considered to be superior to the common schools. By the turn of the century, all schools were taught in English.

By 1900, the changing characteristics of the population began to play a role in the educational system. At the beginning of the century, there were 18,000 Portuguese, 26,000 Chinese, and 61,000 Japanese brought to Hawaii to work on the plantations. The pure Hawaiians had decreased in number and Part-Hawaiians were increasing. The Caucasian population comprised over 7,000, or 8% of the population (Nordyke, 1977). This eight percent controlled the land, government, church, plantations, and schools (Fuchs, 1961; Lind, 1980).

The influx of non-English speaking laborers from China and Japan had a tremendous impact on the public schools. In 1910, Japanese children accounted for 25% of the public school population. By 1919, the Japanese were the largest ethnic group in the public schools (37%) (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1920). Although the Caucasian population more than doubled from 7,000 in 1900 to 15,000 in 1920, they continued to comprise only 8% of the Hawaiian population (Nordyke, 1977).

The installment of military bases and economic expansion in Hawaii increased the Caucasian population after Hawaii was annexed to the United States in 1898. These mainland Caucasians, unlike the earlier missionary and wealthy Caucasians had come before the 1900s, were middle-class people. Public schools became their primary alternative. The public schools provided the social environment where different ethnic groups interacted, and many saw problems in this interaction.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

A relevant aspect of education in Hawaii is the size and prestige of private schools. In many ways, the ESS was established because Caucasian middle-class parents could not afford to send their children to the limited private schools. Punahou led the other private schools in prestige. Punahou is the "oldest, largest, and probably the most influential of the private schools on Oahu" (Stroupe, 1948:86). The 1920 Federal Survey describes the history and mission of Punahou:

> "Punahou School dates back to 1841... Originally established for the children of educated American families, it has continued to serve an English-speaking, Anglo-Saxon constituency, and holds to this constituency by limiting the admissions of applicants of other races to 10 per cent of its student body... The fact that Punahou is attracting and holding a large proportion of those children who are likely to become leaders of

> thought and affairs hereabout, throws on the shoulders of its officers and teachers another great responsibility and privilege. It is that of properly training these future leaders, not merely for civic, intellectual and moral service which the advantages afforded them obligate them to render in these schools." (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1920: 319-321)

There were many private schools, most with religious connections and support. Private schools had varying degrees of prestige and varying proportions of non-Caucasian students. As a group, though, private schools were seen as "better" schools than public schools. In addition, Standard English was expected of all their students. Punahou had a policy as early as 1886 to exclude students "incapable of using the English language as the medium of instruction" (Fuchs, 1961: 266). This policy was in response to protests of parents who wanted to limit the enrollment of Chinese at Punahou.

The principal of Roosevelt "recalled incident after incident of students in tears because they could not be placed in over-crowded Roosevelt and believed that this might well account for many of them attending private schools." He further "felt that students in Honolulu have shown a desire to go to Punahou but if they were not accepted they chose Roosevelt" (Stroupe, 1948: 83). Clearly, Roosevelt High School, an ESS, was equivalent to a private school in prestige.

In a sense, the ESS was an attempt at having private schools at government expense. The ESS and private schools were similar in the following ways: (1) certain ethnic groups were favored--Caucasian and Part-Hawaiians; (2) they had high prestige and better academic standards and facilities; and (3) Standard English was used as a criterion for selection.

REASONS AND CONDITIONS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF ESS

In 1920, federal commissioners visited Hawaii to assess the quality of education (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1920). This massive study covered varied topics, e.g., alarm at the growth of the Japanese electorate; admiration for the quality of private schools; concern over the high turnover of mainland Caucasian teachers. Among the recommendations were: (1) establishing kindergartens; (2) abolishing foreign language schools except for children who could not become citizens; and (3) raising teachers' salaries. The establishment of the ESS is often attributed to the following federal recommendation:

PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING TO ABILITY IN ENGLISH

> Attention has already been drawn to the difficulties growing out of the fact that such a large proportion of the pupils in the high schools come from families in which English is not spoken. It has been recommended by the commission that in the study of English, at least in the two larger high schools, where the larger number of pupils makes it easily feasible, that the pupils who speak English fluently be separated from the others and that the latter be given a different type of English study. It is believed by the members of the commission that this principle ought to be carried out to the full extent that it is feasible without making too many small classes, and we therefore recommend that a similar segregation be made in all subjects excepting American history and civics.

> The plan would be to divide the pupils of each grade and subject into three sections--the fast section, the medium section, and the slow section. Pupils should be assigned to the three sections according to their ability to get on in the subject. The fast section should be given more and harder work than the medium section and the slow section less and easier work, involving more drill in the subject and more attention to current expression in English. In case there are not enough pupils to make three sections, two should be made, one for the most proficient pupils and a second for all the others. Such a plan of segregation would help in all subjects and would go far toward removing the objections of English-speaking families to sending their children to the public schools. If the distribution among groups were made wholly on the basis of ability to get on rapidly and successfully with the work, there would be no ground for any feeling of discrimination" (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1920: 246-247).

What is striking about the federal recommendation is that separate schools for English speaking children and non-English speaking children were not specifically recommended. "The reason for not making the same divisions in American history and civics should be evident. In these subjects the children of all the other national descents should have the opportunity for contact and discussion on questions of American history and civic ideals with the children of American parents." They also point to the advantages and necessity for American children to mix with "all these diverse racial elements" (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1920: 247).

There were more important interrelated reasons than "educational" reasons for establishing English Standard Schools: (1) hostility toward pidgin English; (2) hostility toward the overwhelming size and growing strength of the Japanese in the public schools and in the economy; and (3) racist ideology. The dual school system was intended to maintain the ethnic identity and position of the Caucasian middle class.

Pidgin English was the language used by most non-haole people in Hawaii. It consisted of a mixture of Japanese, Chinese, Ilokano, English and Hawaiian words and structure. Caucasian businessmen, government leaders and their wives disapproved of pidgin. They feared that "pidgin English would be a negative influence on their children's speech." The public schools were seen as an environment for the reinforcement of pidgin and children's speech would be "corrupted by incorrect forms." Pidgin speakers were seen as dumb, lower-class and culturally inferior. For example, the 1920 Federal Survey flatly stated that pidgin "must, in the end, be eliminated," (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1920: 37). Some were also concerned that Hawaii's aspiration for statehood would be more difficult to achieve because Standard English was not used and because foreign languages were used.

Another factor that influenced the establishment of the ESS was white community leaders' strong hostility to the growing militancy and power of the Filipino and Japanese workers. The 1920 strike was a major show of the workers' strength that heightened ethnic antagonism in the ethnically stratified plantation system. Although the Filipinos played a major role in the 1920 and 1924 strikes, much of the antagonism of the Caucasians was directed at the larger and more established Japanese community. For example, there were efforts to

restrict Japanese homesteading and to prohibit the employment of Japanese aliens on federal projects during this period. The 1920 Federal Survey on education devoted a large portion of its report on the growth of the Japanese electorate and the size of the Japanese community accounting for 42% of Hawaii's population.

The ESS and private schools provided a culturally American atmosphere. The Caucasian children were the clear majority in the ESS and specific private schools. Nearly all the teachers were Caucasians in the ESS. In the regular public schools, on the other hand, Caucasians constituted a very small minority of the student body. The dual public school system caused the recently arrived Caucasian middle class less difficulty in adjusting to island living. A proportion of these Caucasians may have wanted to maintain their cultural continuity in anticipation of their return to the continental United States. Like other immigrants, Caucasians wanted to maintain their own cultural life styles. Unlike other immigrants, they were able to do so because they joined the dominant minority in power. The public schools had to change to accommodate their needs.

The superior position of Caucasians in relation to non-Caucasians was conspicuous during this period of American history. This racist ideology was well articulated in Hawaii. Illustrative of this attitude are quotes from Dr. Stanley D. Porteus who was a nationally known psychologist, professor and author. Some of his studies about different ethnic groups in Hawaii often included specific policy recommendations.

In Temperament and Race (1926), Porteus and Babcock identify a series of "defects" of the Filipinos which "must interfere obviously with good judgment and a balanced and sane reaction to affairs in general." Some of these defects include: "egocentric attitude," "obtrusive habits and desire for personal recognition," and "poor emotional control and unstable moods." They cautioned that "there is a danger not of undereducating them but of giving their education the wrong direction." They further forewarned:

> "It is our opinion that no matter what labels of citizenship we may put on these people they remain Filipinos, and it will take much more than a knowledge of the three R's to make them Americans. To make the system of schooling too over-scholastic might be worse than no benefit at all. The surest way to make a malcontent is to educate him either above his intelligence or his opportunities" (Porteus and Babcock, 1926: 70).

This kind of writing gave credibility to a common belief that groups, like Filipinos, were inferior and education was unnecessary.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ESS

In 1924, Lincoln School was established as the first ESS in Honolulu. Most English Standard Schools were in urban Honolulu and had better facilities than regular schools. The majority of the children were Caucasian. As of 1936, "no teacher of oriental ancestry had been assigned to an English standard school" (U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Hawaii, 1938: 348).

Under the ESS system, all students were tested for their written and oral proficiency in English. Students passing the tests were placed in English Standard Schools and those failing the test were enrolled in regular schools.

The screening tests to enter these special schools focused primarily on a student's speech pattern (Legislative Reference Bureau, 1948: 23). For example, the first-grade oral English examination had three parts. The first part of the test consisted of informal conversation. The examiner conversed with the student

without making judgments about his/her speech. The student was encouraged to talk about things which interested him/her. The second part consisted of object recognition. The examiner showed the student various objects from a book, i.e., a book, a pair of scissors, a pencil, etc., and asked the student to name the objects. The examiner noted errors in the "th" sound, lip movements, and word endings. The final part of the first-grade oral test consisted of conversation about pictures. The student was shown large colorful pictures and the examiner again noted errors in expression, word endings, and the "th" sound. After the examination, the examiner rated the student's performance as excellent, satisfactory, or unsatisfactory.

Since there were few English Standard Schools, only a limited number of students passing the test were admitted and other students were placed on a waiting list. The selection procedures and the small number of schools created a closed system. Once a student was not admitted or failed the test, there was little chance of ever getting into an English Standard School. During the ESS period no more than 7% of all public school students were in the ESS. ES (English Standard) sections in regular public schools were also established. These sections enrolled significant numbers of non-haole students in comparison to the ESS.

Tables 1 and 2 show the ethnic breakdown of Hawaii's population and students in private schools, ESS and regular public schools.

Table 1

Percentage of Ethnic Groups in Hawaii, 1920-1950

Ethnic Group	1920	1930	1940	1950
Caucasian*	7.7	12.2	24.5	23.0
Filipino	8.2	17.1	12.4	12.2
Hawaiian	9.3	6.1	3.4	2.5
Part-Hawaiian	7.0	7.7	11.8	14.8
Japanese	42.7	37.9	37.3	36.9
Other	25.1	19.0	10.6	10.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number	255,912	368,336	423,330	499,769

Source: Nordyke, 1977, Table 2.
* After 1940 Portuguese are included in the Caucasian totals.

Table 2

Percentage of Ethnic Groups in Private Schools and Public (English Standard & Regular) Schools, 1919-1947

Ethnic Group	1919 Priv.	1919 ESS	1919 Reg.	1936 Priv.	1936 ESS	1936 Reg.	1941 Priv.	1941 ESS	1941 Reg.	1947 Priv.	1947 ESS	1947 Reg.
Caucasian	16		3	22	51	5	23	46	6	17	23	5
Filipino	1		2	0.1	0.3	2	0.1	0.3	9	0.2	1	10
Hawaiian	9		9	0.4	0.2	3	0.2	0.4	3	1	0.2	3
Part-Hawaiian	20		11	29	20	13	26	20	14	25	22	19
Japanese	17		45	7	6	48	12	9	49	21	23	45
Other	36		29	41	24	28	69	26	19	36	31	18
Total %	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total Number	7,169		36,102	14,946	4,343	82,043	10,715	6,566	91,121	23,201	6,492	84,923

Sources: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1920: 22, for year 1919; U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Hawaii, 1938: 344-345, for year 1936; and Legislative Reference Bureau, 1948: 25-30, for years 1941 and 1947.

The evidence is clear that the ESS systematically excluded Filipinos and Japanese, while favoring Caucasians and Part-Hawaiians. The ESS was seen as the prestigious school where students were generally considered as socially and academically superior to students in regular classes and schools. The dual school system confirmed and reinforced the existing economic and social stratification in Hawaii.

As can be seen from these tables, Caucasians and Part-Hawaiians were well represented in the ESS. In 1924, Caucasians, who were only 8% of the total population in Hawaii, comprised 70% of ESS students. This proportion declined gradually until 1942 when there was a sharp decrease because of the war. Japanese, on the other hand, accounted for only 2% of the ESS population in 1924 and increased to 23% by 1947. At the close of the ESS system, there were as many Japanese as there were Part-Hawaiians and Caucasians. In comparison to their size in the larger community, Japanese were still very much underrepresented in the ESS. Filipinos were practically invisible in the ESS and by the late 1940s claimed only 1% of ESS students. Part-Hawaiians were well represented in all the years.

However, most educators and policy-makers in Hawaii from the early 1920s through the late 1940s continued to insist that the dual system based on oral English proficiency was fair and good. For example, 1937 testimony on statehood stated that "during the recent years there has been almost no objection nor complaint that unfair discrimination exists" (U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Hawaii, 1938: 342). But Chinese and Japanese community leaders in fact complained that those schools were "undemocratic," "un-American" and "discriminatory."

ABOLISHMENT OF THE ESS

World War II had a tremendous impact on Hawaii's economy, ethnic relations and statehood. Factors associated with World War II were directly related to the eventual decision to abolish the ESS in 1943. In 1942, 2,000 Caucasian students withdrew from English Standard Schools. This resulted in a 50% reduction among Caucasian children in the ESS system. Most of these children returned to the mainland. Robert Faulkner, District Superintendent of Schools, acknowledged "the successful establishment of a single standard system was largely due to work done at Manoa. Because some danger still existed, it was thought wise to transfer the Manoa children attending the Lincoln ESS to quarters closer to home...So for the remainder of 1941-42 school year, the Manoa School site housed two schools, under two principals." Eventually, there was a recommendation to have a "neighborhood school" with ES sections. By 1945, the legislature passed a law requiring that ES sections be established in all elementary schools (The Manoa PTA Historical Committee, 1952: 14-15).

The total enrollment of English Standard Schools continued to grow moderately after WW II. Caucasian students were replaced by Japanese and Chinese. Filipino and Hawaiian students continued to be grossly underrepresented. By 1947, the Japanese, Caucasians and Part-Hawaiians each constituted 23% of the ESS student population.

The war effort expanded Hawaii's economy and there were more middle-class urban jobs created (Lind, 1980: 79). These were filled by the Japanese, Chinese and Caucasians. The hostile attitude toward the Japanese by the established segments of Hawaiian society had to be revised after the war years. The Hawaii-born Japanese "proved" their loyalty by means of their effective but costly military service for America. The war effort required all island children to "rid themselves of all foreign characteristics and to be and speak 'American'" (Stueber, 1966: 340). The language schools which had enrolled over 80% of all

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Japanese children prior to the war were forced to close during the war. The defeat of Japan must have resulted in less fear and more acceptance of the Japanese. A final change in the status of the Japanese was the size and strength of their portion of the voters. By 1940 Japanese voters constituted 31% of the electorate, as compared with 30% for Caucasians (and Portuguese) and 25% for Part-Hawaiians (Lind, 1980: 102). The ESS system that favored Caucasians and Part-Hawaiians but excluded many Japanese lost support after World War II.

Arguments about the ESS were not whether or not to maintain segregated schools based on English proficiency, but whether they should be abolished immediately or gradually. The final compromise was to phase out the system over twelve years so that those children already in the ESS could graduate. The 1960 Roosevelt High School graduates were the last ESS graduates.

The decision to abolish the ESS was not a rejection of Standard English and the better academic standards in the ESS, but was seen as a way to "bring the non-standard schools up to the standards in oral English and academic achievements." Pidgin English continued to be regarded as inferior.

OGBU'S TYPOLOGY AND HAWAII'S ETHNIC GROUPS

The current status of the four ethnic groups in terms of occupational roles and educational achievement differs from their situation during the ESS period. This section utilizes Ogbu's typology (dominant, autonomous, immigrant, and caste) and applies it to the four ethnic groups during the ESS period. We will speculate on the changes and possible future status of these groups.

Table 3

Percentage of Gainfully Employed Males Classified as Professionals, 1910-1977*

Ethnic Group	1910	1930	1950	1977
Caucasian	3.1	19.8	16.9	21.2
Filipino	--	0.6	1.2	6.3
Hawaiian	1.6	4.1	3.6	6.9
Part-Hawaiian	3.1	6.7	6.3	
Japanese	0.5	3.4	5.5	18.1
Other	0.9	11.0	23.9	42.2
Percent of Total Population	1.1	3.4	7.3	15.3
Total Number of Professionals	950	4,119	8,829	30,851

Source: Lind, 1980: 87.

* Data for 1977 derived from Hawaii Health Surveillance Program Survey. All other data from U.S. census reports.

Table 4

Population, Occupation and Income, 1977

Ethnic Group	Population Number	%	Median Annual Income	Prof./ Tech. Jobs %	Service Jobs %	Median Years of School*
Caucasian	236,585	27.5	$19,005	20.9	12.8	13.6
Japanese	223,173	25.8	19,431	17.5	9.5	12.6
Hawaiian	9,449	1.1	9,278	6.6	19.6	12.1
Filipino	91,399	10.7	12,683	6.3	22.2	12.1
Chinese	41,630	4.8	21,183	20.1	14.0	13.0
Korean	10,136	1.2	19,702	9.7	21.5	12.7
Samoan	5,648	0.7	--	13.2	53.2	12.0
Black	7,890	0.9	--	8.5	13.2	12.9
Puerto Rican	4,695	0.5	--	7.2	22.5	10.7
Part-Hawaiian	136,443	15.9	13,615	9.0	20.3	12.5
Other Mixed	84,644	9.8	13,438	12.2	17.3	12.7
Other	8,632	1.0	--	5.5	21.0	--
Total	860,325	100.0	$17,000	15.5	14.3	12.7

Source: Hawaii State Department of Health, Issue No. 11, January 1979.
* Persons 25 years old and over. Excludes vocational schools.

1. Caucasians

For nearly a century after the arrival of the missionaries, the dominant group in Hawaii consisted primarily of established haole families and a few Part-Hawaiians (also Part-Caucasians). The established Caucasians were enrolled in prestigious schools like Punahou. After annexation, Caucasian migration from the mainland increased, and private school enrollment rose as some of the higher status mainland Caucasians in business and the military sent their children to

these schools. The rest of the Caucasian middle class who could not afford private schools benefited from English Standard Schools like Roosevelt. The types of occupations held by their parents would be the ones the students could aspire to. In 1930, for example, 17% of the Caucasians were in professional positions in contrast with 3.4% of the Japanese and 0.6% of the Filipinos. The high quality of the Caucasians' education was appropriate to their expectation and aspiration to high status occupational roles. In Ogbu's typology, they belonged to the dominant group and received the best education to prepare themselves to fill these middle- class roles. Since Hawaii became the 50th State in 1959, this group's share of dominant roles has decreased.

2. Japanese

The experience of Japanese during their major migration period from 1890 to 1920 more closely fits the characteristics of an immigrant minority group. They were beginning to take on more characteristics of an autonomous minority from 1910 to 1940. The following factors influenced the initial mobility of the Japanese in Hawaii: their participation in Japanese language schools; their participation in McKinley High School and exclusion from the ESS; and their move from rural to urban jobs in an expanding economy.

Like some autonomous minorities, the Japanese established separate language schools which operated after regular school hours. These language schools fostered cultural identity and pride which is characteristic of autonomous minorities.

By 1932, Japanese language schools enrolled 90% of all Japanese children. These schools fostered strong ethnic/cultural identity and pride. The language schools performed several functions for the newly-arrived Japanese immigrants and Hawaii-born Japanese students. The schools obviously provided Japanese language instruction, but they also provided an appreciation and reinforcement of the Japanese culture. In addition, the children learned basic skills. In this respect, the Japanese were receiving in the language schools a substantial amount of instruction as well as cultural and ethnic support. A vast majority of Japanese children attended public schools and few attended the ESS and private schools. By 1947, the Japanese were the largest group in the public schools (45%) and had increased their participation to 23% at the ESS and 17.5% in private schools. Between 1930 and 1936, public high school attendance among the Japanese increased by 43%, compared to 26% for other ethnic groups (Fuchs, 1961: 252). McKinley High School was "the leading school" and its principal, Miles Cary, was "the most significant educator in Hawaii during the 1920's and 1930's" (Fuchs, 1961: 291). Cary emphasized liberal arts rather than vocational training. He encouraged the students at McKinley to aspire for leadership. A survey in 1928 showed that over half of the recent McKinley graduates were attending college and not one was working on a plantation (Fuchs, 1961: 190). The Japanese who were the largest group attending McKinley had a strong advocate in Miles Cary. "McKinley High School became a symbol. To some, it was 'Tokyo High' where the children of Hawaii's immigrants were filled with crazy ideas unsuited to island life. To thousands of school children on Oahu, it was a symbol of hope" (Fuchs, 1961: 290).

The dual public school system actually may have worked to foster greater cultural identity among the Japanese who were underrepresented in English Standard Schools. The ESS maintained the distance between pidgin speaking children and haole Standard English speakers (Sato, 1984: 18). Pidgin (creole) developed and remained a functional means of communication and identity among the children excluded from the ESS and private schools.

This increase in Japanese participation in ES, private and public high schools occurred as more Japanese left the plantation and moved into urban jobs after the 1930s. By 1950, the percentage of male Caucasians identified as managers/professionals was 17%, as compared with 6% for the Japanese. By 1977, the percentage of male professionals was 18% for the Japanese and 21% for the Caucasians.

In Ogbu's typology, the Japanese were initially an immigrant minority and then became an autonomous minority. Their educational and occupational experiences during the period of the ESS systems were beginning to be more characteristic of an autonomous minority. Currently, the Japanese could be categorized as an autonomous minority group which occupies a major share of high status occupational roles in Hawaii.

3. Filipinos

Three conditions color the Filipino educational experience: (1) they were the most recent immigrant group and occupied the lowest status plantation jobs (previously occupied by the Chinese and then the Japanese); (2) the average ratio of 12 males to 1 female was extremely imbalanced and retarded the growth of Hawaii-born Filipino children; and (3) most regarded themselves as temporary residents who wanted to eventually return to their homeland.

Filipinos in Hawaii did not begin to participate in educational institutions in a significant way until the 1940s. In 1920, the Filipinos had the smallest percentage of 16- and 17-year-old students enrolled in school: 17.6% Filipino; 64% Caucasian; 55.6% Part-Hawaiian and 35.1% Japanese. By 1950, the Filipinos had 80% of their 16- and 17-year-old children in school (Lind, 1980: 96). Filipino students were virtually invisible in the ESS and private schools. Filipino enrollment in the ESS rose from 0.3% in 1936 to 1% in 1947 in contrast with the 1947 figures of 23% for Japanese and 23% for Caucasians. And the first Filipino to graduate from a high school in Hawaii was the 1924 McKinley high school graduate. The type of education encouraged for the plantation group was suited to maintain their low status.

Japanese began leaving the plantation in the 1920s; 17,000 Japanese plantation workers in 1922 were reduced to 9,000 by 1932 (Lind, 1980: 82). The vast majority of sugar workers were Filipino. By 1932, 35,000, or 70% of the plantation work force, were Filipino (Lind, 1980: 82). Thus the view that plantation workers did not need an education because it would draw them away from plantation work was effective in maintaining the low status of Filipinos in Hawaii. Governor Farrington wanted all children to value manual labor, particularly agriculture which was the "source of prosperity in the Territory." He suggested the creation of a domestic service department in the public schools to encourage more Filipinos to become domestic servants (Fuchs, 1961: 280). The Filipinos' educational participation was limited and their low occupational status was reinforced.

Filipino participation in the lowest occupational positions during this period identified them as a caste minority and/or an immigrant minority. Only 0.6% of the Filipino males were professional in 1930. This percentage increased to 1.2% in 1950 and 6.3% in 1977. The gains in the 1970s have occurred with the maturation of the Hawaii-born Filipino community and the large influx of professional immigrants since the enactment of the 1965 Immigration Law.

Perhaps the Filipino community will move from more caste-like characteristics (1920-1960) to more immigrant characteristics. The striking difference between caste-like role expectations and immigrant occupational expectations lies in the immigrants' expectation that their positions are

transitional. They see themselves as in the process of bettering their lives in a new country and are motivated by the anticipation that such rewards are possible. On the other hand, it is just as likely that Filipinos will continue in a caste minority status.

4. Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians

Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians occupy a very low status in Hawaii. In 1977, the median civilian family income ranking of the four major ethnic groups was as follows: Japanese $23,209, Caucasians $20,823, Part-Hawiians $16,445, Filipinos $16,361, and Hawaiians $11,997. The Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians are underrepresented in managerial/professional jobs and higher education. They are overrepresented in low status occupations, welfare, poverty population, and criminal statistics. (See Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project, 1983.) In Ogbu's typology, Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians are caste minorities. The Hawaiians' educational and occupational status before and during the ESS period was consistent with their present low status, though such consistency does not exist in the case of the Part-Hawaiians. The 1940 census reported 3.4% Hawaiians and 11.8% Part-Hawaiians. In contrast, their participation in the educational institutions in 1941 showed an overrepresentation for Part-Hawaiians (20% private, 20% ESS, and 14% public school enrollment) and an underrepresentation for Hawaiians (0.2% private, 0.37% ESS and 3% public schools). However, both Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians were well represented among professional males. For example, the 1930 census disclosed that 3.4% of all males were professional, whereas 4.6% of Hawaiian males and 6.7% of Part-Hawaiian males were in that category.

Before further discussion, it is important to point out that data on Part-Hawaiians and Hawaiians is not collected consistently. Individuals and institutions use so many definitions that comparisons may be inaccurate and require caution. Another difficulty is that Part-Hawaiians are also part of the ethnic group or groups. An individual may be influenced by either of his/her parents' cultural heritage and economic status. However, a Hawaiian-Filipino probably would not have the same status as a Hawaiian-Caucasian. A Hawaiian-Caucasian could be raised in a more homogeneous cultural style.

In an effort to apply Ogbu's typology to the Part-Hawaiian educational and occupational experience during the ESS period, it may be helpful to look at this group as consisting of two subgroups: (1) the upper-class Hawaiians who married into the dominant Caucasian elite; (2) the lower-class Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians (generally non-Caucasian).

The upper-class Part-Hawaiian/Caucasians attended the "select schools," i.e., Punahou, other private schools and the ESS. Significant numbers of Part-Hawaiian children attended Kamehameha Schools which is a private school for Part-Hawaiian children. Many Part-Hawaiian/Caucasians assimilated into the Caucasian dominant culture and participated in schools and occupations commensurate with their status. The lower-class Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian children received education in "common" schools before annexation. The vast majority of Part-Hawaiian children attended and continue to attend public schools.

A number of differences between the Japanese and Hawaiian and Part/Hawaiian experiences may help explain the present reversal of status. The most obvious problem of Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians is the drastic loss of their culture and resources due to westernization and the importation of Asian immigrants. The Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians lost much of their ethnic and cultural integrity because of their connections with the dominant Caucasian group or other ethnic groups. Unlike the Japanese, they were hardly homogeneous with respect to their

economic class, which further weakened their ethnic and cultural identity. The Japanese, on the other hand, were more homogeneous as an economic class and had an institution like the language school that maintained their ethnic and cultural identity and pride. This difference in cultural identity and pride may account for the present reversal of status. A recent study (Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project, 1983) presents a hypothesis that poor school performance is related to culture loss and culture stress. The reverse might account for good academic performance and occupational success. In Ogbu's typology, one of the characteristics of an autonomous minority group is the strong cultural identity and pride among its members. This seemed to be present among the Japanese during most of their history in Hawaii.

In recent years, however, Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians have exhibited a growing tendency to identify with and appreciate their Hawaiian ethnic identity, language and culture. If this cultural Hawaiian identity continues, it may lead the two groups to an autonomous minority status which has greater potential for occupational mobility and educational success.

CONCLUSION

Many characteristics of the educational system established prior to 1900 continue to the present time. Some of these characteristics include: (1) the important role and prestige of private schools; (2) ethnic concentration in different schools; and (3) the use of Standard English, non-Standard English and Asian/Pacific languages among Hawaii's children.

The high status and comparatively large enrollment of Hawaii's children in the 1850s continue to the present time. The percentage of private school enrollees is currently at 17%. Hawaii's private school enrollment has always been high compared to other States. Despite the existence of the ESS, private school enrollment increased 120.4% between 1930 and 1949, while the corresponding figure was 8.5% for public schools (Fuchs, 1961: 292). The disaffection of middle-class Caucasians toward public schools and other ethnic groups who were the majority in the public schools, led to the establishment of segregated dual public schools and an increase in private school enrollment. The present alternatives for those who are critical of the public schools are: (1) private schools, (2) upgrading some public schools, or (3) upgrading all public schools. Tentative discussion on consolidating and specializing curriculum in various schools may indicate that there will be efforts at improving some public schools. Filipinos, Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians concentrated in specific schools may be further disadvantaged. The University of Hawaii, the single public institution of higher education in the State, seems to reinforce the subordinate positions of Hawaiians, Part-Hawaiians and Filipinos.

Language use in the schools continues to be a major issue in Hawaii. The present form of pidgin English is much closer to Standard English than in the previous decades (Sato, 1984: 18). Many mistakenly see pidgin English or Standard English merely as a correlate of competence and ability. There continues to be a negative attitude toward pidgin English, as well as a positive functional aspect of pidgin English. Policy-makers and the schools have not seriously addressed the role of pidgin English in the schools and the community.

Since 1970, Hawaii's schools have had to respond to the large influx of non-English speaking immigrants from Asia and the Pacific. Unlike the past, Hawaii schools are mandated to use Ilokano, Samoan and Korean as the medium of instruction in basic subjects for children who are limited English proficient. Hawaiian as the medium of instruction was approved in 1984 to accommodate native Hawaiian speaking children concentrated in one small rural island.

The major role of the Japanese language school in the development and success of the Japanese community in Hawaii may have implications for the importance of the native language and culture of the children and their parents in educational attainment. The culture loss and culture stress hypothesis presented as an explanation for the Part-Hawaiian and Hawaiian students' poor academic performance is appealing. Strong cultural identity and pride, characteristic of autonomous minorities, may be an area Filipinos and Hawaiians will be able to develop more fully.

If Ogbu's theory applies to the children of Hawaii, any efforts to improve schooling for ethnic minority groups, specifically Filipinos, Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians, cannot be successful without corresponding efforts to improve the occupational status of these groups.

Notes:

1. "Haole" is a Hawaiian term for "foreigner" that refers to Caucasians. Portuguese were not considered Caucasians and were classified separately in most statistics collected before 1940 (Lind, 180: 25).

2. "Pidgin" is the common term used in Hawaii to refer to the language spoken by many Hawaii-born people. Linguists usually define this as a "creole" language rather than "pidgin."

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ADULT LEARNING EXPERIENCE JOURNALS: AN AID TO SUCCESSFUL TEACHING OF A SECOND LANGUAGE

Teresita V. Ramos

Given the variety of needs which motivate learners, and given the variety of ways in which they learn, how can a classroom researcher discover what individual students really do and think and feel during the language lesson?

One recent response to this question has been the use of diaries or journals to provide a data base for studying personal and affective variables in language learning. Such journals can be used as first-person case studies.

USE OF PERSONAL DIARIES AS LANGUAGE LEARNING RESEARCH TOOLS

Early work using diaries or journals as language learning research tools was conducted by Francine and John Schumann. While studying Arabic in Tunisia and Persian in Iran and California, the Schumanns recorded "daily events and the thoughts and feelings related to them in a log-like fashion, paying particular attention to cross-cultural adjustments and efforts made and avoided in learning the target language, both in and out of class" (Schumann and Schumann, 1977: 243). In keeping a language learning diary, the learner records anything and everything perceived to be important to his or her current learning experience. The diaries often include early impressions of the people and culture of the target language environment, the teacher and fellow students in a language class, comments about the learner's fears and frustrations, and the difficulties or successes experienced by the learner.

Several of the diarists have also documented their personal language learning histories in their reports. These accounts of the diarists' previous language learning experience are by definition retrospective. The language learning histories are included in hopes that they will contribute to an understanding of the personal factors involved in the current language learning experience.

The best known research of this type on second language learning is the recent series of "diary studies" (e.g., Schumann and Schumann, 1977; Schumann, 1978; Walsleben, 1976; K.M. Bailey, 1978). The participant observers have mostly been students enrolled in foreign or second language classes (although much of the Schumanns' work involves naturalistic SLA), and in one case (Telatnik, 1978) the teacher of an ESL class. An important difference between the diary studies and normal ethnography has been that the diarists' principal object of study has been themselves, with introspection supplementing observation as a data-gathering device.

Most of the diarists have kept written logs, although others have preferred to use tape-recorded comments for storing journal entries (Bailey, 1978). Some find writing cumbersome and slow, while others feel inhibited by the presence of a microphone and find they are better able to express themselves in writing. Diary research is largely introspective since the learner reflects on his or her own experiences;[1] however, some diarists (e.g., Bailey, 1978) in formal classrooms include commentaries on other learners as well (Long, 1979).

The subjects discussed in this paper were students at the 1982 summer institute on Philippine Language and Culture at the University of Hawaii. The intensive language course on elementary Tagalog was the equivalent of one year's

work during the regular university session. The language was taught three hours daily, five days a week, making a total of 120 hours in eight weeks.

Twenty students enrolled in the class, quite a large enrollment for a language class. The Tagalog course culminated in a two-day seminar on second language learning/teaching strategies and testing. These courses were tailored for language or prospective language teachers. The students were to undergo the process of learning a second language and they were supposed to determine what classroom teaching strategies helped; what they did to help themselves in language learning; and what affective factors helped or hindered their acquisition of the language. So as not to forget what they underwent, students enrolled in the seminar on language learning and teaching were required to write journals on their daily language activities. These journals became the subject of discussion during the workshop/seminar on what techniques (initiated by both the teacher and students) worked and what did not, as well as what characterized a good language learner.

Of the 20 students, ten enrolled in the methodology seminar. Five ranged in age from their late twenties to mid-thirties; the other five were in their late forties or early fifties. The class included two Ph.D. holders, three graduate students, and eight teachers four of whom were language teachers. Three students were given fellowships, with the rest receiving free tuition and some stipends. Four were recruited from outside Hawaii.

In writing their diaries, I told the students to have the following questions in mind:

1. What activities in class facilitated my learning Tagalog?

2. What strategies did I use to help myself to learn Tagalog?

3. What did I like/not like about the language learning environment/situation?

4. What suggestions do I have on improving the teaching-learning situation?

The three-hour class session was divided into two segments. Two teachers taught the class. One teacher's approach was predominantly functional-communicative, while the other one used the audio-lingual approach. The diaries of the students indicated that both approaches helped them in learning the language, although the fast learners indicated that the repetitions and the pattern drills bored or wearied them. The discussion of grammar was kept to the minimum and this led to a mini-rebellion by the second week of the institute because two students (one had an MA in Spanish) had previous classes which were grammar-oriented and insisted on having grammar lessons. The rest of the class talked them out of this frame of mind.

ACTIVITIES THAT FACILITATED LEARNING TAGALOG

I have gone through the students' diaries and have summarized what appears to be the common trend.

1. Personalized Instruction

Among the activities in class, most students enjoyed the personalized instruction. They seem to enjoy the class when instructional materials are

related to them by: (1) using themselves as examples to illustrate points of vocabulary and structure, such as illustrating action words by bodily movement; (2) using various questioning techniques to elicit personalized answers, such as interviews; (3) letting them create their own examples based upon some aspect of the lesson; and (4) making them talk about themselves, their own immediate experiences and their families.

a. Activity about the Family

June 24 "Talking about our families to each other in class helped me to understand the idea that language is more often a social matter than an individual activity. I reacted positively and therefore regretted not having had the opportunity to hear every student tell me about their own family." (I couldn't call on all 20 students; I just made the others turn in their work.)

b. Interview

June 25 "The interview-skit assignment we started practicing today was so much fun! I got carried away as I was writing the script for Sally and myself. I am amazed at the variety of questions we know how to ask and respond to in just two and a half weeks!"

c. Using a Classmate to Illustrate Vocabulary Words

June 23 "I enjoyed having a living subject because it helped my memory."

In her evaluation of the class one student said: "Success was due to the teacher's attempts to integrate the student and his/her everyday activities with the content of language. The content of our lessons for example had to do with our families, our important dates, our concerns, etc. The whole class became involved in each other's activities and concerns, and our relationship with the teacher and with the others in class."

2. **Vocabulary Learning**

Teaching new vocabulary in context by using pictures, objects and bodily movements (Total Physical Response) proved helpful to most of the students. Some of their entries were as follows:

a. June 24 "Vocabulary development activities are effective since all learning has a context of sorts, e.g., objects, describing pictures (family), etc."

b. June 25 "I found the picture exercise most helpful today for testing my vocabulary."

c. July 21 "I found the picture description exercise especially helpful because it gave me a completely new context in which to use the vocabulary and constructions learned so far."

d. June 16 "In the study of numbers and things people wear, students counted the number of tsinelas (slippers), sapatos (shoes), relo (watches), singsing (rings), etc. in class. Participants were actively involved both physically and verbally as they stood up to get their shoes, etc. counted by the class or raised their arms so somebody could count the number of watches worn in class. This has been the best day so far."

e. June 18 "The pantomining really helped me remember the verbs--especially performing one at a time in front of the class."

f. June 29 " I felt that I benefited greatly by the assignment answering orally the question "kanino ito?" (whose is this?) using each student's possessions. By having each student put one of his possessions on the floor and then asking another student to say who owns what, I had the opportunity to drill myself to know the names of the objects instead of just passively studying our textbooks."

g. June 17 "The exercises used were excellent. I became involved both physically and verbally. The cultural shock of language exposure is apparently wearing out as the activities and the words used begin to make sense to me. Commands like lumakad ka (walk) and umupo ka (sit down) introduced the verbs effectively. The physical activity accompanying the introduction of the verbs helped me internalize the use of the verbs. Colored blocks shaped like buildings and vehicles used in building a town concretized the meaning of the words introduced. Colors were introduced as well. Seems logical. The review of occupational terms using a guessing game based on pictures of people engaged in various occupations was also highly successful. The entire session was conducive to my mental growth and the response of the whole class was positive."

3. **Communicative-type Activities**

The more successful learners in class seemed to have strong motivation to communicate and were eager to use the language in different situations. Some of the entries were as follows:

a. June 21 "Having a new person (a native Tagalog speaker) come into class helped me today because it made the questions come alive and helped to impress them even more upon my memory. I find I learn much better, and pay attention better when there is some need element about an exercise."

b. July 23 "I liked the assignments on talking about a picture of our choice and the one on explaining how to cook something because it gave me the opportunity to use everything we have learned so far in a practical way."

4. Video-Tagalog Group Skits

a. July 30 "This activity demonstrated that the students can play an important role in helping each other in developing mastery in the speaking and comprehension skills and in building self-confidence."

5. Games

a. June 16 "I really thought the elimination game we played at the beginning of the class was exciting. I guess because I'm so competitive, that type of review game works for me."

6. Singing

a. June 25 "The dictation to the class of the words of the song "Ang Pipit" was a good exercise for writing words we have never seen nor studied before. Since it was the last day of the week (Friday), learning a new song made it bearable and kept me alive and awake. This was the favorite activity of everyone. Everybody loved to sing."

STRATEGIES USED BY STUDENTS TO HELP THEMSELVES LEARN TAGALOG

Among the strategies used by the students to help themselves were:

(1) Saying words out loud when memorizing.

(2) Saying phrases to self.

(3) Listening to tapes in the language lab without following text or notes.

(4) Imitating the voice on tape.

(5) Writing the answers to the questions in the book and in the worksheet given by instructors.

(6) Learning model sentences by heart.

(7) Observing gestures, pauses, and attitudes of native speakers for comprehension and imitation.

(8) Saying new words aloud and then writing them down.

(9) Making a list of "high priority" words vs. words of lesser importance and learning the former by hear.

(10) Keeping a record of all new phrases and words.

(11) Speaking with and listening to native speakers of Tagalog.

(12) Using the "discovery" method of learning the Tagalog grammar, instead of finding correspondences between it and English.

(13) Making vocabulary cards for new words and reviewing them.

(14) Asking the instructors to give explanations and clarifications.

(15) Using the newly introduced words in sentences.

(16) Keeping a recording of all new phrases, dialogues, and vocabulary.

(17) Trying whenever possible to ride on the group energy and to use the group's reactions and responses in order to motivate and stimulate me.

(18) Making as many situations as I could into some kind of testing situation, so that I was continually interested in the challenges of the exercises.

(19) Trying not to ask for changes to be made, but instead adjusting to whatever we were asked to do and "make the best of it." (Often this involved generating humor.)

(20) Drilling myself on the vocabulary words helped me more than anything outside of class.

(21) Going through the grammar notes in preparation helped me too.

(22) Singing songs is my best way of memorizing and remembering the language.

(23) Practicing without stress seems to speed up my learning a great deal.

(24) Imitating the model(s) on the lab tapes and the teacher in class and exaggerating when I felt I needed to, avoiding learning from incorrect models (classmates).

(25) Practicing out loud at home as part of my homework.

(26) Memorizing phrases and sentences for each lesson so that I would have patterns from which to draw--especially important for lessons that were difficult.

(27) Attempting to converse with anyone in Tagalog.

(28) Making a concentrated effort to absorb and keep up with the vocabulary being introduced.

The successful learners had more details in their entries in describing the strategies that helped them, whereas the not too successful learners only briefly mentioned repetition, memorization and drilling.

WHAT STUDENTS DID NOT LIKE ABOUT THE LANGUAGE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT/SITUATION

Some of the frustrations and fears expressed in their diaries were as follows:

(1) I get frustrated at "taking turns" in the question and answer session; it's too slow.

(2) I get irritated at the slowness and stupidity of the rest of the class.

(3) I get bored at the grammatical explanations.

(4) I get discouraged at not being able to identify unfamiliar words in class recitations and not knowing what to ask.

(5) I feel awkward about writing my own sentences on the board.

(6) I get frustrated when I'm unable to provide answers to questions on the tape.

(7) I get "lost" in the rapid drilling of new vocabulary.

(8) I feel awkward participating in the games. This activity should be kept to a minimum because of age differences (only one student mentioned this).

(9) I get lost when too many new things are given to be learned and applied immediately.

(10) I resent the unpreparedness of some students during the "free conversation" session.

(11) I feel that there are too many people for an intensive course.

(12) I feel that the room is too small for the class.

(13) I feel intimidated by the more "knowledgeable" students in class.

(14) I lack the opportunity to answer in class because of the "domination" of some.

(15) I feel smothered/overwhelmed by too many vocabulary words.

(16) I dislike the "grammar" note in the book.

(17) I abhor dialogue memorization and acting out.

(18) I get confused with the abundance of little words (i.e., particles) and the use of "subject" and "object" for the explanations of focus.

(19) I get frustrated at the many new words and phrases to memorize.

(20) I get irked by "corrections" made by fellow classmates, especially in pronunciation; also interruptions by some during discussions.

(21) I dislike aural lessons by themselves.

(22) I get overwhelmed by the fast pace and quantity of the lessons.

(23) I fear being called upon.

(24) I get embarrassed when the instructor has to stop the class to help me with the pronunciation of words.

(25) I dislike reciting in front of the class.

(26) I get frustrated at memorizing group-made dialogues.

(27) I get confused by "grammatical" terms.

(28) I get embarrassed by my wrong answers.

(29) I get overwhelmed by too many assignments at one time.

(30) I get pressured when asked to speak out.

(31) I get "lost" most of the time.

Numbers (1) through (10) were expressed by the successful learners. Note that the tone of the comments were more on impatience at the slowness of the rest of the class.

Numbers (13) through (31) were expressed by the less successful learners. You will note from the comments the pervading tone of being overwhelmed, the confusion, the fear and embarrassment of making wrong answers and being corrected.

The attitude toward the difficulties of language learning was expressed more positively by the more successful learners.

a. June 15 "With the amount of material we are covering, I much prefer to tackle the difficulties in a spirit of fun and avoid using fright as a stimulus for action."

b. June 15 "Humor keeps coming up for me. Why is this class so funny? I've never laughed so much in any class before. Mistakes are a part of it, rules are a part of it, images are a part of it. The complexity of the game, our over-preparedness plus our naivete--being adults without language competency--create the conditions, I suppose, but still we choose to find the humor. It isn't bound to be this funny. I felt very happy by the end of the class. I didn't feel hesitant to participate and I didn't even feel ashamed to be corrected."

COMMENTS ON HOW TO IMPROVE THE TEACHING/LEARNING SITUATION

In response to the question on improving the teaching/learning situation, some of the more common comments given were as follows:

1. Speaking

a. August 6 "I feel that a little more emphasis on learning dialogues would have helped me (and I'm sure the rest of the class as well) to be more successful in our small group

'free' conversation sessions. Perhaps our participation in the small group conversations would have been more purposeful and intense if we had had a little more structure."

2. **Listening Comprehension**

   a. July 8 "I have a feeling that most of us students are so busy memorizing vocabulary, reading and studying our textbooks and trying to understand the grammatical explanation that we don't have enough time to put our knowledge into practice by actually speaking Tagalog and having the opportunity to hear native speakers speak to each other."

   b. July 8 "Everyday for at least 5 minutes, we should be given the opportunity to hear at least two native speakers have an ordinary conversation at the "natural" speed. To vary the activity, sometimes the teacher should tell us in advance a little anecdote, or a news item about what is going on in the Philippines. We can answer questions based on these activities to check our listening comprehension. It would be better if the narration or the conversation between native speakers used the vocabulary and the verb forms we have already studied."

3. **Vocabulary Presentation**

   a. June 17 "I feel smothered by an avalanche of vocabulary words today. The colors, the names, the objects, and occupations, all add up to nearly 40 words in a day!"

   b. June 22 "We had the usual onslaught of vocabulary terms...I feel like I'm losing the retention battle. I may have to set aside even more time for reviewing. The problem is, where do I find the extra time?"

PROBLEMS INHERENT IN INTENSIVE PROGRAMS

One problem that teachers of intensive programs face has to do with pacing. When is the pacing of the language content just right--not too fast and yet fast enough for it to be called an accelerated program?

The following entries show how the slow and fast pacing affected two of the more successful learners in class.

   a. July 15 "I noticed today that my feelings are dependent to a great degree on the pacing of the activity in class. Today I felt bad, irritated, tired whenever the pace was slow for some reason or other. I felt better when the pace was proceeding smoothly and I felt panicked when I couldn't keep up with the pace. I also noticed that I'm fighting mental exhaustion more and more in class. (This was written the week after the midterm, 5th week.) I'm finding it harder and harder to care about whether or not the answer I give is correct or not. I'm struggling with apathy in the face of an overwhelming task. I felt content for the first session, but in the second session the class was so

slow and simple, and took so much patience that I felt like I'd been abused and beaten when it was over. (From the best student in class)

b. June 15 "Class today was very fast moving. The rate at which things are introduced, explained and drilled is quite fast, but I find it very stimulating."

The following entries (one at the beginning of the session and the other at the end of the session) show how one learner never caught up with the rest of the class.

a. June 17 "I find that the pace of the lessons on the whole is too rapid and therefore I cannot keep up with the lessons assigned to us."

b. August 2 "I still find the pace rather fast and I am therefore unable to keep up with the rest of the class."

When can one say that the pacing is just right? Probably by close class observation and feedback. The teacher has to push the students but not so much that they develop mental exhaustion, another problem in a highly intense learning situation. Note the devastating effect of mental exhaustion in the following entries. Yet, note too that it did not discourage a student who was one of the more successful learners.

a. June 25 "Today was not my day. I just couldn't keep my mind on anything. It's a good thing that it's Friday! For the first time, I feel like my mind is logjammed--nothing seems to soak in. When my instructors asked me questions, I just sat there--blank. I also noticed that I was not the only one who felt that way. A lot of the other students seemed to be "spaced out" too. A weekend of rest and relaxation will cure us all."

b. June 25 "In spite of my mental exhaustion, I'm still really enjoying this summer institute. Learning language is a stimulating experience and being a student again is refreshing to me."

Another type of pacing is related to the question of sufficiency of input. When do you stop an exercise and go to the next one? Note the contradictory comments on pacing in the following entries:

a. June 23 "I have been less receptive to learning when there have been too many new things thrown at me to learn and to apply immediately."

b. July 6 "I felt confused today for the most of both classes. I would just get to a point where I felt comfortable (that is where I understood what we were supposed to be doing) with an exercise when we would go on to something else."

c. June 23 "I felt much better today. I enjoyed building sentences and learning about the tenses. I was very happy that we reviewed the days, numbers, and months. I found it

very satisfying to be able to give dates--it seemed a whole realm of ideas was exposed. I felt I had mastered something in knowing a whole system: all the days, all the numbers, all the months, etc. Everyone seemed more cheerful today."

d. June 23 "Today's language session was well-balanced and quite enlightening."

And the same student who complained about being "less receptive to learning when there have been many new things thrown at her" said in another entry she wrote three weeks later:

a. July 15 "I feel that various types of language learning activities, such as the use of cards and pictures, going before the class to do something and asking someone to tell the class what she saw or is doing, have given us enough of a variety to prevent fatigue and boredom. I like the change of pace and activity because that's what the situation is like in everyday affairs where people come in contact with another and engage in different types of activities."

The material one covers in an intensive course of eight weeks is equivalent to that of one regular semester. So one tries to extend the number of hours of exposure to the language to make up for the discrepancy in time.

The question I posed earlier was: "When do you know that the amount of language material you give is just right--not so much as to drive your students to mental exhaustion, fast enough to keep their attention and interest, and not so intensive as to make them feel "abused and beaten" when the lesson is over?" This is where classroom observation and diaries can help. When they start swearing at you in their diaries, slow down.

INDIVIDUAL LEARNING STYLES

Besides the basic amount of human intelligence that is required to learn almost anything, there are several kinds of ability, according to the research, that are especially relevant to the learning of second languages by persons who are beyond the age of primary language acquisition.

One type of learning style is called aural (often said to have an "ear" for languages), and the other visual. Some people prefer learning by listening to the spoken word and others prefer learning by reading the written word.

Views on these two learning styles are contradictory. Some researchers say that the aural presentation is the best for all learners (Bateman, 1968; Budoff and Quinlan, 1964; and Kaneda, 1972); others say otherwise (Berry and Detterman, 1973; Roy, 1967). Still others say that the mode of presentation does not affect learning (DeBoth and Dominowski, 1978; Jensen, 1971; Kampwirth, 1979).

In the institute, the best student wrote in her diary about her preference for the aural presentation.

June 16 "The things I've learned by ear, I recall more easily."

In contrast, the slowest learner preferred the visual presentation.

June 14 "The language is difficult for me. Since I'm not an

auditory learner, I need to have things written down. I get very confused when I'm hearing new sounds. I need to see it visually to associate it with the sounds."

July 28 "My brain retains better if visual aids are used more. I still would prefer to see written models rather than the aural approach. I feel so lost because I can't follow what's happening without seeing it."

The mode of presentation in the class was mostly aural. If students are allowed to learn languages in the ways that they prefer, might they not be more successful? Clearly more research into both of these learning styles is called for and would be of great value to the teachers and students of language.

EFFECT OF THE LANGUAGE LEARNING SITUATION

What everyone agreed on was their positive affective/emotional response to the language learning situation. The good relationship among the students and between the students and the teachers was singled out as the most important factor of the language course. The spirit of good comaraderie was deliberately planned from day one. The students had to learn each other's names, and the lessons were planned around the members of the class, i.e., their families, important dates, events, concerns, experiences, etc. Even the not too successful language learners of the class felt the institute was a very memorable and enjoyable experience. The members of the class were encouraged to get to know each other, so that they could cope with the pressure of the intensive courses, often with good humor. In addition to Tagalog, they were enrolled in the Literature and Philippine Studies courses. Some of their entries were as follows:

a. June 20 "The dialogue made me very nervous and I was glad to get it out of the way. I was enjoying the dialogues because of the supportive response of the group as much as the performances themselves."

b. June 24 "This is the first time I have ever been in a university language class where there is a conscious attempt on the part of the instructors to integrate the individual's everyday activities with the content of the language...The students are close to each other and are encouraged to do their very best and to feel that progress and success are possible without sacrificing fun and human relationships."

c. June 25 "I feel so good being with this group. Everyone is wonderful. I was amazed today by how quickly this week went by."

d. July 22 "The course is quite intensive and things move along very rapidly; however, because of the varied activities and the closeness of the students and the teachers, I feel that there is definitely a climate for learning in the classroom that permits me to continue working hard."

e. August 6 "It was nice to have a 'family' in such an intense situation. It was like a group of strangers trying to survive on a sinking boat or deserted island. Like the first day

of kindergarten, we played well together. Like a Harold Robbins novel, we indulged in 'chismis' and scandal. And all in Tagalog. We celebrated together and commiserated together in Tagalog."

f. August 6 "I found interacting with this particular group uncharacteristically easy. I attributed this to the teaching strategies, the attitudes of the teachers themselves, and perhaps, most of all, to the particular make-up of the group itself and the generous nature it, as a whole, developed."

g. August 6 "This has been the first time that I've seen a college class (whose students learned to work with and relate to one another) provide a good class environment for learning to take place. This summer institute has shown me that an important aspect of language learning is a good relationship between the teacher and the students, and among the students themselves."

h. August 6 "Success was due to the teacher's attempt to integrate the student and his/her everyday activities with the content of the language. The content of our language lessons, for example, dealt with our families, important dates, concerns, etc. The whole class became involved in each other's activities and concerns, and our relationship with the teacher and among ourselves was conducive to a positive learning experience."

SUCCESSFUL ADULT SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNERS

From the diaries, one can summarize the important strategies adopted by successful adult second language learners as follows:

(1) One important strategy adopted by this group was that of always attempting to convert passive knowledge into active, productive knowledge. Passive knowledge might be, for example, recognizing the meaning of a second language word or grammatical construction, while active knowledge would be recalling the second language word, or using the grammatical structure in a new sentence. Repeated recall of active knowledge will cause that knowledge to become more accessible and automatic. The mistake that many unsuccessful learners make is to allow their knowledge and skill to remain passive. In a classroom situation, good learners will be trying to answer every question for themselves, even when not directly called upon by the teacher.

(2) Another important strategy is to use constantly one's knowledge in a live communication situation, even if the situation is imaginary. Curiosity about the new language and active searching for opportunities to use it are the characteristics of successful language learners.

(3) Making one's own lists of words, ideas and notes about the grammar is another good strategy for learning.

But students have all signs of being successful second language learners if: (1) they have a tolerance for ambiguity; (2) they are highly motivated to learn the language; (3) they persist in spite of the difficulties and frustrations that inevitably accompany language learning, particularly those encountered in the early stages when they are almost totally unable to communicate in that language because of this lack of mastery; (4) they take much time, patience and effort in learning the language; and (5) they are open, outgoing and friendly (not inhibited) and have a high self-esteem. Good language learners are not afraid of making errors and actively seek information on the correctness and appropriateness of their efforts in the second language.

It helps, of course, if the students' educational training is related to language learning, and if they have studied other languages before and enjoyed the experience.

CONCLUSION

Diaries focusing on an individual's language learning experience are important because they give us insights into how the learner is processing a second language. Formal classroom instruction is more often than not based on the teacher's point of view. Diaries can be used as the basis for future teaching since they represent language learning from the student's point of view.

Diary studies allow us to see the classroom experience as a dynamic and complex process through the eyes of the language learner. The new knowledge they provide can be applied directly to the development of new teaching strategies.

These diaries may not be enough to make generalizations about language learning and teaching, but ultimately there may be enough data to be gleaned from diary studies to identify the events and emotions leading up to changes in affect that we may be able to control or induce.

According to Francine and John Schumann (1977), our profession spends a good deal of time in teacher preparation, teacher training, and teacher education. Perhaps second language learning might be improved by investing some time in learner preparation, learner training and learner education. It is possible that students and teachers could use diaries or journals to learn about the personal variables that promote or inhibit second language learning. Information gathered from the diaries could be used to minimize the inhibiting aspects of these variables as well as to facilitate the language learning process.

Notes

1. See Boring (1953) for an overview of the history of introspection as a tool of scientific psychological inquiry.

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Daily journals written by ten students enrolled in the intensive Tagalog language course which was offered at the First Philippine Institute on Language and Culture, University of Hawaii, June 14-August 8, 1982.

FIRST GENERATIONS IN ASIAN AMERICAN LITERATURE: AS VIEWED IN SOME SECOND GENERATION WORKS

Stephen H. Sumida

A view of Asian American people as killing each other in intergenerational strife, applied unquestioningly to interpreting characters in Asian American literature, has been taught to two, maybe three generations of Americans, and it is still being taught to our new immigrants and their children. The communication gap assumed to divide the "misfit," "FOB" Asian immigrant from his or her "Americanized" child is so endemic to American culture that it is even one of the mainstays of humor stereotyping Asian Americans. Witness the comic version of the conflict in its appearance between Charlie Chan and his hip Number One Son, who goes around spouting, "Gee, Pop!" in a self-parody of American slang.

Too much that has passed for Asian American literary criticism, analysis, and interpretation grossly misreads relationships between generations, especially between Issei and Nisei, immigrant and American-born characters. This is especially the case when the criticism is based on old, perhaps misused sociological assumptions dictating that between Issei and Nisei there inevitably is a cultural and identity conflict because the former is the "Asian" and the latter the "American."

One commentator writes that Louis Chu's Eat a Bowl of Tea enacts "the initial Chinese American break from Chinese culture" in the "break" of the young protagonist from his father.[1] Another writes of both John Okada's No-No Boy and Milton Murayama's All I Asking for Is My Body as being "about the nisei's rebellion against the issei generation, about the nisei's desire for an identity separate from his parents'."[2] The last of these statements may well be true--universally. But one of the problems is that such sociological approaches and uses of the literature make the "rebellion" (if indeed that is the right word) not merely an intergenerational one, but insistently an intercultural one, the American vs. the Asian.

This narrow yet still widespread view of Asian Americans' intergenerational relationships is killing us by setting a stage where our children grow up to battle and belittle the earlier generations precisely on account of race and culture. Let me illustrate this problem and at the same time suggest a solution by talking about how to read Asian American literature as literature rather than as sociological, nonfictional case studies. My implicit plea is that Asian American literature be read in our schools to cut sharply and deeply into our old, divisive confusions.

Louis Chu's Eat a Bowl of Tea is about immigrant Chinese, that is, American pioneers, among the founders of New York City's Chinatown. Chu himself was an immigrant, as a child. And his novel's protagonist is a young immigrant who has become part of the bachelor society but is now very much of marriageable age and so is among the generation who must father children in America if Chinese America is to continue. Ben Loy, this young Chinese immigrant man, is sent by his father back to China to marry Mei Oi, who returns with Loy to New York City, in 1947 when immigration restrictions for Chinese were already somewhat relaxed because of the wartime alliance between China and the United States. Rather than sleeping in marital bliss, however, Loy becomes impotent. Lacking her husband's physical love and evidently not fully knowing why, Mei Oi falls prey to a slick bachelor of the older generation, who seduces Mei Oi and gets her pregnant.

The plot is obviously like a soap opera's. In this respect and in many other important ways as well, it ought to be clear that Chu was highly conscious of writing a work of fiction, a literary work, requiring some other kind of reading than what nonfiction assumes.

Reading the novel as if it were nonfiction, however, some published critics interpret Ben Loy's impotence to be a result of his father's oppressive, authoritarian, somehow traditional Chinese annulment of the son's powers--thus the son's impotence, his lack of power.[3] As if it were nonfiction, the novel is seen to be explained mainly by factors lying outside itself, the novel serving then as a kind of report on those outside, "real world" topics. If Sophocles' Oedipus Rex were read this way (and no doubt it is by some), the work would be treated as a psychological case study set into motion by Oedipus' (and, autobiographically, Sophocles' own) hatred for his father, love for his mother, regardless of the drama's gripping interplay of fate and reason, prophecy and free will and its tight web of words. Such a view would discount Oedipus Rex's position as a literary tragedy, within a distinct literary and cultural tradition whose works of art can have such mythical power that they give us insight into our psyches that we may not have had before. This latter view, in other words, teaches us something, while the former one tends instead to confirm what we already may think we know, when reading a literary work.

To readers who treat Eat a Bowl of Tea as nonfiction, the arranged marriage typically represents the workings of heavy parental authority. The argument then is that Ben Loy, the son, must discover and assert his own power as the next generation, the American generation, as happens sexually for Loy when he is away from New York City and his father--and also away from reminders of his bachelor past. The narrative is thus seen to be centered on a conflict between father and son, Chinese tradition and American individualism, without questions as to whether and how it is possible to generalize so enormously about what is "Chinese" and what is "American," or why Chu does not himself present the novel in these terms in the first place.

Some of these non-literary critics at moments do come closer to the mark, however, when they take into account the historical context that the literary work itself alludes to, evokes, and describes. Chinatown's bachelor society was comprised of men who had permanently left their families behind in China. Splitting off from their families, they themselves could hardly be considered paragons of family virtue. Even if there were reliable benchmarks of "tradition," fixed points by which to measure these men, they would probably be judged to be quite an "untraditional" lot themselves from the moment they embarked for America. Furthermore, what choices did they have to establish or reestablish "normal," "traditional" family relationships in the United States? Anti-miscegenation laws forbade the Chinese Americans from marrying whites freely, while anti-Asian immigration laws forbade the Chinese Americans from bringing their wives and children to them. The wedding arrangement Wang Wah Gay orders upon his son Ben Loy is just about the only and the best way for the son to marry, if he is to marry at all. And the son agrees.

But where then is the conflict between father and son? Both are immigrants. Both are of the bachelor society. And when either contemplates the fact that Ben Loy's marriage ought to be arranged, neither father nor son thinks of the practice as being "Chinese" or as being contrary to "American" practice. In fact, nowhere in the novel does Ben Loy complain about "Chinese" tradition. These characters all value the integrity of Chinese American culture and do not appear concerned with choosing sides--that is, between being Chinese or being American. What ostensibly gives Loy power indeed comes directly from his and his father's Chinese heritage. A "traditional" herbalist cures him of impotency

by prescribing that Loy brew and "eat" a bowl of special tea. Earlier, a Western doctor failed to effect a cure. So where is Loy's incipient rebellion against Chinese "tradition"?

It is the father, too, who himself avenges the wrong done to his son. Surely this must mean their alliance, and not a conflict between them. Wang Wah Gay, upon discovering the culprit, cuts off the ear of Ah Song, the oily seducer and adulterer.

Indeed, an examination of this novel--full of wit, satire, profanity, heroic and mock-heroic conventions--shows that father and son are two generations of the same culture, a culture that needs invigorating and gets invigorated with a thick dose of the herbalist's tea. These are Chinese American pioneers. The problem is that Ben Loy and his generation among the pioneers must do the literally inconceivable. They must father and mother children out of a bachelor society.

Here is one way Chu establishes this problem and this point. The novel in epic fashion begins in the middle of things. The doorbell of the apartment on Catherine Street, New York City, rings harshly, disturbing the dreams of Ben Loy and Mei Oi not long after their wedding and, now, the onset of an uneasiness that has crept into their marriage. At the door early that morning at the novel's very beginning is a prostitute after a night of work--one of those Loy trafficked with in his bachelor years, when prostitutes were his only female contacts. This novel, Chu suggests by beginning this way, is to be about Ben Loy's waking up to his past, his history, whatever that history's mix of the noble and the ignoble may be. It is not to be about running away from it by fighting with his father.

The first generation also figures importantly in John Okada's No-No Boy.[4] Here again, if one were to think of the novel as being a nonfiction or even an autobiography--and it is neither--one would think that intensive, in some ways insane intergenerational conflict rages through the novel and through Japanese America.[5] To be sure, the main character's family is torn with conflict, some of it, but not all, appearing to arise because of cultural differences between Ichiro and his parents, especially his mother, who at any rate is deranged and can therefore hardly be assumed to be "typically" Issei. But then, too, it might well be expected that the novel would have to contain many and complex conflicts involving the protagonist if the novel is to be any good at all, and if the novel is to be more than a superficial outpouring of sentiments of love and hate about one's self and one's parents and forebears. Certainly, No-No Boy would lack depth or any real historical validity if Okada had failed to take into account the intercultural, interracial, and intergenerational conflicts that sending Japanese Americans to concentration camps was thought to be about.

Yet Okada's novel is not ultimately a statement that never-to-be-resolved intergenerational conflicts existed in and around World War II because Issei and Nisei failed to reach each other across a cultural gap. If anything, the novel is instead a criticism of those who assume, claim, teach, and convince others that such conflicts boil down to being between a "Japanese" and "American," mutually exclusive absolutes. That provocation is in effect what the Japanese American imprisonment offered: it assumed a split between a "Japanese" and "American" identity within and among Japanese Americans. Misreadings of Okada's novel blindly repeat this assumption, over and over again.

In one scene in No-No Boy, an Issei father recalls how in Camp a young Nisei sociologist lectured the old folks and scolded them for not being "American" with their children--not communicating with their children as "American" parents do. Without explicitly stating any judgment of this Nisei sociologist's assertions, Okada sets the memory in the context of a warm family gathering where the reminiscing Issei father, still bemused and burned by the sociologist's insolent remarks, welcomes home his own Nisei children, now grown-up and obviously

still close, loving, and communicative all the way around. There appears to be no generation gap here in the novel--certainly not on the basis of race and culture.

My third and final example does include a strong conflict between first and second generations, a conflict as seen from the viewpoint of a Nisei, the novel's first-person narrator. Milton Murayama's All I Asking for Is My Body pits Nisei sons against Issei parents, all of them laboring on a Hawaii sugar plantation in the 1930s.[6] But despite appearances again, the conflict is not due to contrasting "Japanese" and "American" cultures. Rather the conflict is between tyranny and freedom, or between the actual and the ideal in human conduct and virtues. Here again the reading of the novel as if it were a nonfiction will lead the reader to a wrong interpretation.

The intergenerational conflict centers on the parents' expecting and ordering their number one son, Tosh Oyama, to repay the family's $6,000 debt, a debt which the parents say it is Tosh's filial obligation to pay. Tosh fights the obligation with mouth and fist; at one point he, an amateur boxer, punches Father in the solar plexus, climaxing an argument over the debt. If Tosh does not pay, then Kiyo, the second son and the novel's narrator, will be Tosh's "substitute," Mother warns.

It certainly appears this time that here we have a sociologically "classic" case of "Japanese Confucian ethics" conflicting with "American individualism." On the latter side, the expression, "all I asking for is my body," is Tosh's declaration of independence, a claim to the fruits of his own labor. On their part, the parents insist that Japanese are or should be filial and contribute to the parents' welfare, while haoles (or Caucasian Americans) are selfish and heartless in this regard. Tosh says his parents have put everything backwards. This is about as far as sociologically oriented readings appear capable of going.

That shortcoming is unfortunate, for the novel's details tell yet another story. The debt itself, Tosh knows (as any good chonan or eldest son would be raised to know family history), resulted from Grandfather's having taken all of Father's and Mother's savings back with him to Japan, when Tosh was two and Kiyo was about to be born. Grandfather took his son's and daughter-in-law's money so that he would appear to have been a success in Hawaii, though in truth he was an inveterate failure. He took the money evidently over the outcries and protests of the young couple, who themselves now seem utterly to forget that they, too, once "cried and cried" over what Grandfather did to them. If Tosh is unfilial in protesting, so must his parents have been in their time. The parents' own failures have added to the loss, as have the expenses of feeding a family that is so fecund and prolific that at one point a sister in high school, Tosh's wife, and his mother are pregnant--all three of them--at the same time.

The clear inference is that their proud claim notwithstanding, the parents did not pay a filial obligation to Grandfather at all. They in fact betrayed that very obligation by simply passing the debt on to Tosh and to Kiyo as a kind of perverse inheritance. So when Tosh calls Grandfather a "thief" when arguing with his parents, he is outraged over an injustice, not over who is "Japanese" and who is "American" (Murayama, 1975; 30).

From outside the family Tosh himself must appear to be the ideal chonan, even in the powerful, assertive volume of his protests. He has to quit high school to support his younger siblings through their education; he teaches Kiyo boxing and family history; he marries a hardworking local girl; they settle down on the plantation and contribute all of her pay to his parents. In basic values, the Issei and Nisei generations in this novel are not in conflict, but are actually in consonance. And here communication between the generations takes many forms--all effective in some way or another. The point of Tosh's and Kiyo's fights with their parents is to get all of them closer to being true to their shared values.

Those readers such as Elaine H. Kim, who find All I Asking for Is My Body to be a Nisei condemnation of Japanese American community and family values, somehow miss what counts. In contrast to Kim, N.V.N. Gonzalez reads the first paragraph of the novel and sees in it a basic pattern of the entire novel to follow.[7] That is, he tries to see the novel in its own terms. The opening paragraph goes like this:

> There was something funny about Makot. He always played with guys younger than he and the big guys his own age always made fun of him. His family was the only Japanese family in Filipino Camp and his father didn't seem to do anything but ride around in his brand-new Ford Model T. But Makot always had money to spend and the young kids liked him.

The "situation," Gonzalez says, is that Kiyo (the narrator) is looking around at his world, trying to figure it out--"There was something funny about Makot." The "articulation," Gonzalez proceeds, is in terms and details of Japanese American individuals, family, and community in the 1920s-1930s in a polyethnic, Hawaiian coastal town and whatever other settings are later specified. The "outcome," Gonzalez smiles, is acceptance, not protest, not conflict, in the final analysis or "outcome," but acceptance. Whatever was funny about Makot, "the young kids liked him." Kiyo accepts things for what they are--provided, of course, he comes to understand what they are. The process of reaching his understandings is in one sense the novel's very plot.

What, after all, would represent Japanese "tradition" in this novel? The troubled, even shameful history of the Oyama family's coming to Hawaii and running up an enormous debt? Or how about "traditional," virtuous Japan's bombing Pearl Harbor? Or is Japanese "tradition" represented by the character who asks and asks, with no good answer coming from his Nisei school children: "What is the queen of virtues? What virtue cannot be corrupted? What should govern our relationships with each other?"? That character is Snooky, an American schoolteacher too liberal and idealistic to remain on the plantation, from which the management expels him. We need to look no further, then, to identify who or what most represents "American individualism and tradition" in the novel, in Hawaii: it is not the maverick liberal Snooky, but America is the plantation, absolutely conformist, authoritarian, a deeply feudalistic, "icky shit-hole," as Kiyo pungently puts it (Murayama, 1975; 98). So what is this talk about how a so-called "individual identity" of the Nisei stood in conflict with his Japanese authoritarian parents, as if American authoritarianism were okay? "Freedom was freedom from other people's shit," Kiyo concludes, "and shit was shit no matter how lovingly it was dished, how high or low it came from," whether from the parents or from the plantation, both of them in conflict with their own, presumed values.

Now what is sad about all this is what I fervently hope education might set right at all levels of schooling. We all have been swayed and led by concepts and theories regarding Asian American dual identities, assimilation, and conflicts supposedly inherent in our multicultural, intergenerational relationships. Some of us, like that Nisei sociologist Okada exposes in No-No Boy, have openly (though sometimes blindly) hated our own peoples, our own cultures and families, and our own selves because of longstanding, debilitating notions that would have us assume, for instance, that the English Puritans' stepping onto Plymouth Rock is somehow an "American" act by "American" forebears, while Chinese immigrants' stepping off Angel Island and onto the Golden Mountain

is somehow "un-American." Or in other cases, we have fought with our children because we take our own sense of Asian American culture and tradition as a fixed measure for what our culture is forever supposed to be but never is, never was, an exotic ideal.

We even imply this complex of misconceptions to our children in school and at home when we habitually (and we think, "innocently") say things such as, "Yes, in our Asian American home we sometimes eat "American" foods like macaroni and cheese casserole, with knife and fork, and sometimes "Asian" foods like sukiyaki, with chopsticks,"--as if macaroni and cheese baked together weren't, say, Italian at some point in its origin, or the word "casserole" weren't French and of Latin and Greek derivation. We treat that Euro-centric universe as being the sole base upon which all that is truly "American" is built and measured. In contrast, we talk about our "Asian" sukiyaki as an "exotic" dish, as if it weren't made possible and popular and known to most Americans by virtue of America's abundant beef, Americans' appetites and tastes, and the ingredients Americans have adapted to substitute for what goes into "real" sukiyaki in Japan. Our American sukiyaki is American--and that's redundant. Moreover, the sukiyaki we eat fits into our overall fare in a multicultural America. It should also be recognizably redundant then to say that the ever-changing and living Asian American cultures we and our forebears establish and develop are American in the way they reach back to traditions, cultures, and histories elsewhere in the world and in time. In the late eighteenth century, what the West knew and admired of the Confucian Asian civilization profoundly influenced the founding of the United States as a meritocracy governed by reason.[8] If this and other such debts were not taken for granted or ignored as they are in America, perhaps it would be easier for American children to see, to taste, and to learn that the idea of Asian Americans (including immigrants) as Americans is not so new at all.

An American child can trace American food and cooking to their sources and meanings in countries world-wide where American immigrants have originated, or in the North American continent itself where the Native Americans taught our immigrants how to keep from starving and how to "read" this New World in ways the Old World could barely dream of. In food alone we would have a nice lesson in global pluralism and in America herself as a new, experimental civilization based on multiculturalism. But food alone--or any single, isolated element of a culture--is hardly enough. The isolation of the element from its cultural context makes it seem "exotic"--"off the wall," as it were. We need also to talk about literature. If we could set aside our cultural biases and read Asian American literature as literature rather than as a mere illustration of sociology that we already know in the first place, we would find insights into the Asian American context that no other literature or discipline of study can offer. Our literary heritage would show us that our immigrants were settlers, not sojourners, and can well be called our American immigrants. All Americans may then in some measure be the heirs of their vision and civilization.

Notes

1. Ted Gong, "Approaching Cultural Change through Literature: From Chinese to Chinese American," Amerasia Journal, VII, 1 (1980), 77. For a contrasting discussion of Eat a Bowl of Tea, see Jeffery Chan's "Introduction to the 1979

Edition," in Louis Chu, Eat a Bowl of Tea (1961; rpt. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 1-5. Chan assumes and points out a continuity, rather than a conflict, implicit between generations in the novel.

2. Elaine H. Kim, Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Context (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 148.

3. This apparently socio-psychological interpretation is offered, for example, by both Ted Gong and Elaine Kim, in their respective works cited above.

4. John Okada, No-No Boy (1957; rpt. 1976; rpt. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979).

5. Roger Sale mistakes the novel to be autobiographical, in Sale's Seattle: Past to Present (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976; paperback edition, with corrections, 1978), 178-180. See also Kim, 148-156; while Kim knows that the novel is not autobiographical, her view of the novel as depicting the disintegration of the Japanese American family and community is similar to Sale's.

   Whereas Sale and Kim see No-No Boy to be marked heavily with a disintegration of the individual, family, and community, Dorothy Ritsuko McDonald (Yoshimori) sees a disintegration but traces a contrasting, overriding pattern of "redemption," in "After Imprisonment: Ichiro's Search for Redemption in No-No Boy," MELUS, VI, 3 (1979), 19-26.

6. Milton Murayama, All I Asking for Is My Body (San Francisco: Supa Press, 1975). Again for a reading of this novel contrasting mine, see Kim, 143-147.

7. N.V.N. Gonzalez, Guest Lecture in Asian American Studies 495, Hawaii's Literature, Washington State University, Pullman, WA, 9 January 1984.

8. For documentation and an examination of how notions and knowledge about Asia historically have affected the intellects, imaginations, and philosophies of Western thinkers, see Arthur E. Christy, "The Sense of the Past," in The Asian Legacy and American Life (New York: The John Day Co., 1945), 1-55.